THE
Explanation of the FRONTESPIECE.

SEE the ſad Trophies of our Civil Wars,
The fatal Period of Inteſtine Jars:
Behold th' inſulting Monſter! with what Pride,
Mounted on high, ſhe does in Triumph ride?
Whilſt at her Feet three weeping Beauties lye,
Three Nations doom'd t'Eternal Slavery.
Unhappy *Albion*! ſhe that was ere-while
Albion the Fair, the Free, the Fort'nate Iſle,
The Fear and Envy of all Foreign Lands,
Now takes inglorious Shackles from her Hands.
The Northern Thiſtle hangs her ſnowy Head,
To ſee her * Maiden Caſtle raviſhed:
Bleeding *Jerney*'s ready to Expire,
Her heart-ſtrings broak, as well as tuneleſs Lyre:
See where a Murder'd Monarch breathleſs lies!
With her own Sword there wounded Juſtice dies.
Lo! where the Pop'lar Darling Liberty,
That aëry nothing Name does captive lye,
Her Pinions clipt; her Finger lets you ſee
There's nothing but Repenting Thought left free.
So caged *Philomel* ſecurely Sings,
But having got the Freedom of her Wings,
While to her Native Woods ſhe clips away,
Poor *Philomel* becomes the Faulcon's prey.
So from the Fold and the ſlain Shepherd's Eye,
Fond Flocks regain their deſart Liberty;
But in Exchange of Government and Laws,
They meet their Death from Wolves devouring Jaws.
More fooliſh, ſure, and much more brutiſh Men,
Once thus deceiv'd, to be deceiv'd again?
Thus Scepters, Crowns, Religion, Juſtice, Laws,
Became the Triumphs of the *Black Old Cauſe*,
Whilſt Wing'd Ambition, groundleſs Jealouſie,
Flaming Rebellion, Diſmal Anarchy,
To roll her hiſſing Wheels each Foaming ſtrives;
Needs muſt they go, whom ſuch a *Jehu* drives!
But would you know the End of this Carreer?
He beſt can tell, ask the *Black Charioteer*.

* *Edinburgh* Caſtle ſo called, till taken by *Oliver Cromwel*.

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A

TRUE COPY

OF THE

JOURNAL

OF

The High Court of Justice,

FOR THE

TRYAL

OF

K. CHARLES I.

As it was Read in the

House of Commons,

AND

Attested under the hand of PHELPS,
Clerk to that Infamous Court.

Taken by *J. NALSON*, LL D. *Jan.* 4. 1683.

With a Large Introduction.

LONDON,
Printed by *H. C.* for *Thomas Dring*, at the *Harrow* at the Corner of *Chancery-Lane* in *Fleet-street*, 1684.

TO THE READER.

THere is one thing which I thought my ſelf obliged to give the Purchaſers of theſe Papers ſome ſatisfaction in, before they come to Read them; and that is, Why, ſince I am Imbarqued in a General Deſign of giving an Impartial Account of the Tranſactions of thoſe diſmal Revolutions, from the *Scotiſh* Rebellion, to the Execrable Murder of this deplorable Prince, two Volumes whereof are already Extant, I ſhould anticipate that Work which cannot be compleat without this very Journal; and therefore why it ſhould come out ſingle, and in ſome ſort before the due time?

In anſwer to which, I have much to ſay, and that which I hope may be very ſatisfactory to others, as well as it hath been to my ſelf. For, I did ſeriouſly conſider, by the ſlow Progreſs of that Heavy Work, which I wiſh had fallen upon more able Shoulders, that though I may without Vanity affirm, I have toiled in it with ſuch Aſſiduity and Zeal, as hath not been extreme propitious either to my Health or Eſtate, yet ſuch is the multiplicity of the ſwelling Matter; ſo great is the Difficulty of ſifting out Truth, notwithſtanding the little diſtance of Time; and the Materials for Compoſing thoſe Collections are to be drawn together from ſo many remote and diſtant Quarters, that it cannot be rationally expected by others, I am ſure from former tryal, it is not to be hoped by my ſelf, that a Work of that Nature and Proportion ſhould be finiſhed without the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable time, and even ſo much the more, becauſe I am obliged out of the deſire I have to accompliſh it, to play the good Husband with the Oyl of both my Lamps of Life and Fortune, ſince if either of thoſe happen to be burnt out, the other will not light the Work to its Journeys End.

I then further conſidered with my ſelf, how long this very Original Journal had ſlept in Obſcurity, and that there was nothing of that Nature ſo in every Circumſtance and Punctilio authentique and convincing of that Horrid Murther made Publique, I blamed thoſe who had ſo long concealed it, and conſidering how great a Wonder it was, that it had not been loſt, and *quam multa cadunt inter Poculum ſupremaq; labra*; how poſſible it was ſtill to be loſt, I thought I ought not to be guilty of what I thought was blamable in others, but that it ought to be made Publique, leſt Poſterity ſhould loſe one of the moſt irrefragable Demonſtrations of the Recorded Villany of thoſe Perſons and Principles, and for want thereof, come to call in queſtion the Truth of the Charge againſt theſe Factious Rebels and Regicides of the Diſſenting Separation. I ſaw with what unwearied Induſtry, the preſent Diſſenters, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Baptiſts*, and other Sects, indeavoured to palliate, extenuate, nay and even wholly deny the Guilt of that *Royal Blood*; I ſaw all this, and from their former Actions, and later Attempts, from the

the neceſſary Concluſions which follow from their Poſitions and Principles, I could not but foreſee Dangerous Conſequences of permitting them to Seduce the Nation into an Opinion and Belief of their Innocence and Sanctity: And upon the ſtrength of theſe and many ſuch like Motives, I thought my ſelf under the moſt preſſing Obligations of Duty, of Intereſt, and of Conſcience, to do all that I was able towards the Preſervation of His Majeſties Royal Perſon, Dignity, and Government, the Safety of the moſt Glorious and Apoſtolical Church in the World, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace and Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, of the Danger which threatned all theſe, I could not but entertain moſt terrible apprehenſions, if theſe their avowed and implacable Enemies were quietly permitted to go on proſelyting the People to their Party, for want of a Faithful Diſcovery and Free Expoſure of their Horrible Wickedneſs, Hypocriſies, Treaſons, Rebellions, and Execrable Practices and Doctrines, which are Deſtructive and Ruinous of all Government, Religion, and even Humane Society. And this being to be proved by their own Writings, and under their own Hands, I thought I was not to neglect the Opportunity of doing this Service to the Publique, eſpecially conſidering that we have their own Words to confirm us in the juſt Apprehenſions we have of them, which aſſure us that our Fears and our Danger from them are very juſt and too well grounded, both upon their Confeſſion and our own Experience.

Now many things herein recited would not ſo well have fallen in with the Hiſtorical Account of thoſe Times, and to give but even an Abſtract or a bare Catalogue of all the Seditious, Treaſonable, Horrible Sermons and Vile Pamphlets of that Age would fill ſome Volumes; and therefore I thought I might with greater decency to the Deſign of thoſe Collections, not only ſpare them there, but with greater advantage alſo to the preſent Juncture of our Affairs, and the Circumſtances of the Nation, give a ſhort Account of them in the Introduction to the Tryal and Murder of the King, to which they were in reality the bloody Preface, and in a Book of a ſmaller Price, which therefore in probability would fall into more hands.

This I hope will be ſufficient to preſerve me in the good Opinion of the Loyal and Ingenuous, who will not think it an Injury to indeavour by this Precaution to ſerve them though a little too forwardly for the Regular Courſe of the following Collections; and for any perſons of a different Character, ſince I am aſſured that this Diſcourſe whenever it ſhould come, would not be very agreeable to them, I am not ſo fooliſh as to be ſollicitous for the diſpleaſure of thoſe, whom I ſhould be much more fooliſh, if I ſhould ever hope to pleaſe.

A JOUR-

TO HIS

Royal Highneſs

JAMES

DUKE of YORK,

ALBANY,

AND

ULSTER, &c.

ROYAL SIR,

HOW *much the* Engliſh Name *and* Nation *are obliged to Your* Royal Highneſs, *the voluntary Expoſing of Your Illuſtrious Life to the moſt hazzardous and Dreadful of all Combats and Dangers, for their Intereſt and for their Glory, will be an* Eternal Teſtimony *ſo long as* Fame *ſhall be able to celebrate them with her immortal Trumpet; and not to mention that* Bravery *and* Conduct *which in a thouſand Occaſions You have ſhewn at* Land. *Thoſe Terrible Actions*

upon the Britiſh *Ocean, whoſe Thundering Eccho's have tranſported Your* Glory *to the remoteſt Shores, will for ever rank Your* Name *among the greateſt and moſt famous* Captains *of the World.*

One would think it impoſſible, that even while the Laurels *were yet freſh upon Your Conquering Brow, there ſhould be found any ſo enviouſly* Malicious, *to endeavour to blaſt them; and with a baſe* Ingratitude, *by conſpiring Your Diſgrace, Your Ruin and Deſtruction ſo to repay Your Merit, and their Deliverance and Preſervation from the Hoſtile Attempts of Powerful and Encroaching Neighbours, who by cutting the ſinews of our* Traffique, *endeavoured to diveſt* His Majeſty *of his glorious Inheritance the Sovereignty of the four* Seas, *and His Subjects of thoſe Riches which* Maritime *Induſtry entituled them to.*

But this is the natural effect of thoſe Principles *of Zealous* Separatiſts, *the implacable* Enemies *not only of Your* Royal Houſe *and* Perſon *but even of the* Monarchy *it ſelf; and certainly none but ſuch prodigious* Monſters *whom no* Goodneſs *is capable of Obliging, nor* Innocence *of Eſcaping, could ſo ſuddenly have Extinguiſhed the* Remembrance *how freely* Your Highneſs *had Expoſed Your Illuſtrious* Life *to Preſerve not only the* Reputation, *but the juſt* Dominion *of the* Sea *to the* Engliſh *Nation, as to be induced contrary to all the* Laws *of* God *or* Man, *and all the Obligations of* Duty, Gratitude, *and* Humanity, *to endeavour to* Diſinherit *and* Exclude *Your* Royal Highneſs, *from Your Hereditary* Right *of* Succeſſion, *to the Land. And to thoſe who meaſure them according to their former*

mer Actions, it will appear no Wonder to find the preſent Diſſenters *ſo exactly reſembling their* Parents *and* Predeceſſors *in* Cruelty, Ingratitude, *and* Treaſon; *or that they ſhould ſo violently endeavour to* Exclude *the* Son *from the* Right *of* Succeſſion, *who ſo inhumanely and barbarouſly* Excluded *his* Father *from the* Poſſeſſion *both of his* Crown *and* Life, *and our* Gracious Sovereign, *ſo long as they had the leaſt* Power, *from his undoubted* Right, *the Throne of his Illuſtrious* Anceſtours *and* Predeceſſours.

But if their endeavours for Excluſion, fill'd the minds of many who did not throughly underſtand their Deſign, *with ſurprize and amazement, their late Explanation of themſelves, by the infamous Commentary of the moſt ungenerous* Treaſon, *have fill'd their hearts with Horror and Deteſtation againſt ſuch baſe Actions and Brutiſh Principles, as lead men under pretence of* Religion *and* Conſcience *to the moſt ignominious and Cowardly* Villany *of* Aſſaſſinating Sovereign Princes.

But His Majeſty *and* Your Royal Highneſs *having by the immediate Care of Heaven, Eſcaped theſe* Dangers, *as it fills all* Loyal Hearts *with Dutiful* Joy; *ſo it inſtructs them, from their* Danger, *of the inſeparable Neceſſity of their* Intereſt *and their* Duty; *and that they ought not only to ſatisfie themſelves with a* Paſſive Loyalty, *but to Uſe their moſt* Active *Endeavours to contribute what lies in their Power, to Secure the* Publique Peace, *and ſupport the* Government. *And as it is the* Intereſt *ſo it is the* Glory *of the* Church *of* England, *that She hath not the leaſt blemiſh of* Diſloyalty *in Her Beautiful Face, but that Her*

Her Fidelity *to the* Crown *hath been Tryed to the Uttermoſt, and She hath Conſtantly endeavoured to ſuppreſs the* Growth *and* Progreſs *of theſe* Fatal Principles, *Deſtructive of all that is* Great *and* Good, *and for my own particular, as I eſteem it my greateſt Honour to be one of Her meaneſt Servants, ſo I look upon it as my chiefeſt Glory, if I can be capable of doing any Services againſt theſe Wicked and Dangerous* Principles, *which may incline* Your Highneſs *to pardon the preſumption of this Addreſs, and the Ambition of avowing my ſelf,*

Great Sir,

Your Highneſſes

moſt Humble and

moſt Obedient

Servant

J. Nalſon.

THE INTRODUCTION: OR, PREFACE TO THE JOURNAL of the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice, FOR THE TRYAL OF King Charles I. Of Blessed Memory.

THERE have been few Ages or Regions of the World, which have not produced Monsters of Ingratitude and Cruelty, Treachery and Hypocrisie, the blackest and basest of all Crimes; Popularity and Ambition have blown from every point of the Compass, and have raised such Tempests through-

 out

out the Worlds vaſt Circumference, that few places can be found, which have not ſuffered under their violent Effects, the Deluges and Inundations of Treaſons, Conſpiracies, and Rebellions: The miſerable Wrecks of Kingdoms and Empires, ſhatter'd and broken by their Fury, are ſtill viſible in the Maps of Hiſtory and Chronology; and if we enquire more curiouſly into the Fate and Fall of the moſt Glorious Monarchies and Flouriſhing Governments that have been in the Univerſe, we ſhall find, That treacherous *Ambition* hath ever undermined the Foundations, and that ſucceſsful *Uſurpation* aſſiſted by *Popular Frenzie*, hath thrown down their lofty Battlements, and laid them level with the Duſt. Moſt wretched certainly have thoſe Places and People been, wherever theſe two Enemies of Mankind have enter'd; for theſe extraordinary Changes and *Revolutions*, however begun with the moſt plauſible Pretences of *The Publick Good, the Redreſſing of Grievances, Aſſerting of Popular Liberty, Repreſſing of Tyranny, or Reforming of Government*, have always been managed with vaſt Expences of humane Blood, have been accompanied with all manner of Outrages, Violence, Cruelty, Injuſtice, Rapine, Deſtructions, and horrible Miſchiefs; and have been conſummated and finiſhed in the *Slavery*, even of thoſe, who had ſo prodigally expended their Blood and Treaſure to promote thoſe *Uſurpations*.

Nor is it neceſſary to eſtabliſh the truth of this Aſſertion, by introducing a long train of Examples, ſince it is ſo obvious, as at firſt ſight to occur to the memory and obſervation of ſuch, as have any manner of acquaintance with the Hiſtories of former Times, or have almoſt in any ſort travelled beyond the Smoke of their own Fires.

But certainly, no Age, no Time, no Country, is able to afford us a *Parallel* to that horrible *Tragedy* which was ſo lately Acted upon our own *Theatre:* Never was there a more horrid, premeditated Conſpiracy, whoſe Foundations were laid ſo deep, ſo ſecret, and with ſo much deviliſh Art: Never was any *Treaſon*, after it once came to look abroad, and was fledg'd into the Cockatrice of *Rebellion*, more furious and impetuous: Never any *Rebellion* more

diſmal,

diſmal, bloody, wicked, or outrageous; and never did *Proſperous Treaſon* animate the *Traitors* to thoſe unheard of flights of inſolent Wickedneſs, ſo as not only to ſubvert the Government, and dethrone their Soveraign, but to Arraign and Judge, Condemn and Execute their *King*, with all the ſolemn and impudent Formalities of pretended Juſtice, even in the Face of the Sun, and view of the whole World, as if they would at the ſame inſtant defie both the Vengeance of Heaven and Earth.

Nor was it the leaſt degree either of the Artifice or Villany of thoſe Execrable Conſpirators, that, like the *Devil*, they came clothed in *Samuel*'s Mantle, and covered their Rebellion with the Popular Varniſh of Religion, which they did with that ſucceſs, that not *Mahomet* himſelf, that prodigious *Impoſtor*, ever ſeduced the wild *Arabians*, with his Pidgeon and pretended Inſpirations, to thoſe degrees, that theſe Sanctimonious Rebels did the credulous *Herd* (for they deſerve no better name) of their Partiſans and Followers: Nor was it a few Wild and Crazy *Enthuſiaſts* only, that made theſe pretenſions, and that wicked uſe of them, to ſuch extraordinary Commerces with *Heaven*, even when they were out-doing *Hell* in Miſchief, but the whole Lump and Maſs of the Faction, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, the Aſſembly of their *Divines*, the Leading men of the Faction, and the following Crow'd great and ſmall, of what Sects or denominations ſoever, however mortally diſagreeing in other things, all of them according to their degrees, more or leſs, unanimouſly laid a claim to Inſpiration, and an immediate Familiarity with *God Almighty*: Nothing was more frequent in their Mouths, than *ſeeking God*, and they were ſure to find him in their *Extempore Effuſions*, which they arrogantly boaſted were the dictates of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and which, to depreſs the Eſtabliſhed *Liturgie* and ſtated Forms, was, by way of Eminence and Excellency, by them termed *praying by the Spirit*. The ſucceſſes, which, for reaſons beſt known to the Supreme Wiſdom, followed their Rebellious Arms, they boldly called *the Return of thoſe Prayers*, and by an impious inſolence, peculiar to them, they Intituled *God* to the moſt tranſcendent wickedneſs, indeavouring to conſecrate *Murder*, *Treaſon*,

Sacrilege, *Perjury* and all their moſt horrible Impieties, by aſcribing them to the immediate direction, and almoſt Miraculous Cooperation of Divine Providence: And with this *Deviliſh Hypocriſie*, they ſo dazled the infatuated Vulgar, and leſs diſcerning minds of the People, that what they ſo arrogantly boaſted, came to be almoſt as eaſily, and generally believed, *That that Cauſe muſt needs be Gods, which was carried on by a praying People; and being ſucceſsful muſt needs be bleſſed*; and that, as they fought for *God*, which they never failed to proclaim, ſo he reciprocally ingaged in their Party, and fought for them. Thus the Famous *Doctor* of the *Independents*, could, with the utmoſt Effrontery, harangue the People at this rate, *Where is the God of* Marſton-Moor? *and the God of* Naſeby? *is an acceptable Expoſtulation in a Gloomy day. O what a* Catalogue *of Mercies has this Nation to plead by in a time of trouble! God came from* Naſeby, *and the Holy one from the Weſt*, Selah. (*Owens Eben-Ezer. p.* 13. And indeed this was the conſtant Method of theſe *Impoſtors*, to magnifie themſelves and Cauſe, and to give both Courage and Reputation to their Party, by intituling God to the diſmal Conſequences of lucky Rebellion.

But the Vizard by continual uſe was at laſt worn ſo thin, that the ugly and real *Devil* began to appear through the painted *Angel* of Light; and thoſe Reforming Saints, began to tread ſo heavy upon the neck of the *Nation*, that they found they had miſtaken ſhrewdly; and that it was a *Cloven-foot*, with which theſe high pretenders to the *Cloven-tongues*, trampled upon, and broke in pieces, the Goverment, Ancient Laws, Liberties, Properties, and even Religion it ſelf, and that the *Cauſe*, which before was ſaid to be *God*'s, was in reality at laſt nothing but their *Own*; a perfect Foot-ſtool, by which they mounted themſelves to the *Throne* of Soveraign, boundleſs, and unaccountable *Power*. For the *Royal Prerogative*, the true ſupporter of the Peoples Liberties and Laws, being gone, and the Royal Party and Power broken, I find * a Petition, *Dec. 9th.* 1647. from the Counties of *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Herts*, *Berks*, *Bucks*, *Oxon*, *Suffolk*, *Northampton*, *Dorſet*, *Sommerſet*, *Lancaſhire*, *Lincolne*, *Cheſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Worceſter*, and

* *Tomaſin's Collection of Petitions Anno* 1647.

and *Warwick*, moſt grievouſly and lamentably complaining of Free Quarter, and their Miſeries under the Oppreſſion of the Army, and of the Inſolence of the Souldiers, who would frequently call them to their Faces, *Conquered Slaves*, and treat them accordingly; as alſo complaining of the *Remonſtrances*, and other Papers of the Army, deſtructive of all Liberty, and even of their darling *Parliaments*, which they had ſo often, and ſo ſolemnly *Proteſted*, *Covenanted*, and Vowed to defend and maintain.

But the *Faction* wholly threw off the uſeleſs Mask themſelves, when having entirely ſubdued the ſcattering Remains of the Loyal Party, the *Army* by their intereſt in the *Commons-houſe*, moſt of the Principal Officers having been obtruded upon the Nation, as their *Repreſentatives* there, and none daring to oppoſe them, began not only to uſurp the Soveraign Power, but to ſubvert the very Foundations of the Ancient *Engliſh* Government, and by the Deſtruction not only of the *King*, but of the *Monarchy* it ſelf, to erect a new *Democratique Tyranny* under the name of *The Common-wealth of England*; In which the People, though nothing leſs was intended them, were in themſelves Originally, and by deputation in their *Repreſentatives*, pretended to be the *Supreme Authority* of this Nation; but in reality theſe *Repreſentatives*, who became ſuch by the prevailing Authority of the Sword, and not by free Elections, being juſt ſo many boundleſs and unlimited *Tyrants*, whoſe Will was a Law, and to whoſe imperious pleaſure all the reſt of the *Nation* were conſtrained to ſubmit, and take from their hands the moſt Arbitrary Yoke of Vaſſallage and *Slavery*; every thing lay at the diſcretion of their Mercy, the Laws, the Lives, the Liberties, the Eſtates of all, without diſtinction or diſcrimination, the *Peer* and the *Peaſant* were wholly and entirely ſubjugated to their uncontrolable *Juriſdiction*; and as to *Religion*, their firſt and great Pretence, that was left to ſhift for it ſelf, all men being left at Liberty to chuſe any or none; and it was all one now to theſe glorious *Reformers*, whether a man were an *Infidel*, a *Pagan*, a *Mahometan*, or a *Jew*, provided he had the wit to ſay it was his *Conſcience*, and make Profeſſion to live peaceably, and acquieſce under

their Government; nay a *Petition* was drawn by the Council of Officers of the Army, that the Laws for baniſhing the *Jews* might be repealed, and *Hugh Peters* and *Henry Marten* were their Sollicitors in a bargain, which theſe profeſſed and moſt bitter Enemies of Chriſt, and his Religion, were driving, to give the State 500000 l. for their Readmiſſion, to have the ineſtimable Library at *Oxford*, and the moſt Ancient Chriſtian Temple, the Cathedral of St. *Paul* for a *Synagogue*; and, durſt theſe Reformers have ſpared it from being a conſtant Horſe-guard to keep the City of *London* in Obedience, there is little doubt to be made, but *Moſes* had juſtled *Chriſt* out of poſſeſſion, and the two Tables, would have baniſhed the four *Evangeliſts*, as wanting money to maintain their Title; but it was no wonder, if they treated the *Apoſtles* at this rate, for they were *Biſhops*, and under the Cenſure of the *Covenant* for Extirpation of *Root and Branch*; and therefore in this General Indulgence, *Prelacy*, and *Popery*, which were always by them coupled together, as being too Friendly to *Monarchy*, and the *Royal Intereſt*, were the only Spiritual Traffique, that was prohibited upon ſevereſt Penalties. Thus ended the true and ancient *Engliſh Liberty*, which for above a thouſand years ſucceſſively had flouriſhed under the Warm and Benigne influences of *Hereditary Monarchy*; and thus, this ſo much boaſted Glorious Liberty and *Reformation*, which was begun with Tumults and Sedition, purſued and managed by Rebellion, Perjury, and the deepeſt Hypocriſie, was at laſt conſummated by the Cruel and Open Murder of the beſt and moſt Illuſtrious Soveraign of the Chriſtian World: A Prince, whoſe greateſt Errors were his Gracious Conceſſions and Condeſcenſions to theſe baſe and ingrateful Men; who deriving their very *Being*, as a *Parliament*, from his Soveraign Will, whereby he paſſed that Fatal *Bill*, by which they were permitted to Sit, till they ſhould conſent to their own Diſſolution, they miſemployed this unpreſidented Bounty, to compaſs, not only His, but the Final Diſſolution of the Government: Thereby leaving an *Eternal* Caution, to all ſucceeding *Princes*, to be very ſparing of ſuch dangerous and unlimited Bounties, as put the *Receivers* under the

power-

powerful Temptation of taſting the forbidden Fruit of the Tree of Soveraignty, and thereby may prove ruinous to the *Givers*.

It is very difficult to determine, whether the Guilt or the Infamy of this unparallel'd Murder, hath laid heavier upon the *Engliſh* Name and Nation: Certainly the Reproach will be the longer liver, by how much God is more merciful than Men, and uſually his Vengeance does not extend it ſelf to many Generations; and one might well hope, that Heaven as well as our Gracious *King*, the Son and Succeſſour of this *Royal Martyr*, were in a great Meaſure atoned, by the Exemplary Juſtice that hath been deſervedly inflicted upon diverſe of the *Criminals*, who though for a time they proſpered in their flagitious Wickedneſs, yet the triumphing of the Wicked was but ſhort, and *that God* to whom Vengeance belongs, was pleaſed, even, in this world, to aſſert the Juſtice of his Providence, which they had ſo often blaſphemed by making it a Party to their Crimes, by bringing theſe Execrable Murderers, and Regicides to the Puniſhment and Infamy due to ſuch monſtrous Malefactors; but then on the other ſide, to ſee the Diſſipated Remainders of theſe Rebellious Factions, as ſoon as the Lightning and Thunder of *Divine* Vengeance, which had ſlain their Fellows, and ſtruck them down with fear and aſtoniſhment; I ſay, to ſee theſe very perſons, ſo ſoon as ever the ſtorm is over, and the hopes of ſecurity had diſſipated their Fears, ſo far from a real penitence for their Own, or the Horrid Crimes of their *Aſſociates*, that they reaſſemble their ſcattered Hopes, and unite all their Hearts, Heads, and Hands to oppoſe the Son, as they did the Father, and that, by avowing, juſtifying, and moſt tenaciouſly adhering to the ſame Bloody and Rebellious *Principles*, they proceed upon all occaſions to increaſe, propagate, and animate a Faction againſt the preſent Government, rewarding the Clemency of a *Prince*, no leſs a wonder for his Pardoning, than his *Royal Father* was for Suffering Injuries, by tracing the very ſame *Methods*, and making uſe of the ſame Arts and Engines, which overthrew his *Royal Father*, exclaiming againſt Popery and Slavery, and by accuſing the Government of Deſigns

to introduce them, to fill the heads of the People with furious Fears, and raging Jealouſies, and at the ſame time both to alienate the Affections of his People from their King, and by Diſobedience to his Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to teach them a Contempt even of his Secular Power, and to put them even into the neareſt approaches to Sedition, and to ſeem to want nothing but a favourable occaſion to precipitate them into a new Rebellion; all this conſidered, one cannot but be tempted to think that this ingrateful impenitence, and obſtinacy, menaces theſe obdurate Sinners with ſome Uncommon and Remarkable Vengeance.

Amongſt all their other Arts, ſo dangerous and deſtructive to the preſent Conſtitution of our Government, I cannot think it either the ſmalleſt or leaſt dangerous, which the *Diſſenters*, from the Monarchick Government as well as the Church of *England*, have made uſe of; for though nothing of Fact can be more notoriouſly true, than that they actually either Murther'd the late *King*, or were Aiding, Abetting, and Aſſiſting to ſuch as did, yet to preſerve ſome Reputation to their *Party*, and that they may be able to increaſe it, by ſuch as they can by their pretenſions to Purity and Sanctity delude, they conſtantly endeavour to ſhift all the Guilt of this Execrable *Regicide* from themſelves, and charge it upon others; the Fact, they are well aware, is ſo ugly and wicked in its own Nature, and accompanied with ſo many aggravating Circumſtances, that there are few Natures, who would not at firſt ſight ſtart at it, as at the Apparition of ſome terrible *Dæmon*; this therefore muſt be totally denied, where it may with ſucceſs, or palliated by making the *King* Guilty of the War, and of his own Murder, the Effect of it; full well do theſe *Deceivers* know, that if the poor infatuated People were really perſwaded and convinced, that the Leaders of their Party, and the precious Men their *Teachers*, had been Guilty of ſuch a deteſtable Murder, even the Dictates of common Senſe, Reaſon, and Natural Religion would inſtruct them, That ſuch Guilty *Miſcreants*, whoſe Hands bluſhed with Innocent Blood, muſt needs be unfit to lift up to Heaven, the juſt Avenger of it; and that ſuch Men muſt needs be very unfit and unproper Guides and Conductors of

of others to *Heaven*, who had travelled ſo far in Rebellion, the High Road to *Hell*, without ever looking, or making one ſtep backwards by Repentance.

The *Presbyterians* therefore in this particular have ever ſtood high upon their Juſtification, as being therefore Innocent of the Guilt of this *Royal Blood*, becauſe then when the Fatal Stroke was given, they were luckily diſplaced from the Helm of State, by the prevailing Faction and Intereſt of the *Independents*: The *Independents*, when they are charged with this barbarous *Fact*, they endeavour to transfer all the blame from themſelves and Party, by throwing it upon a *Junto* of ill men, who then Governed, and had gotten all the Power; and though thoſe very bloody and infamous *Traitors*, *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Peters*, *Nye*, *&c.* were, while living, eſteemed by them moſt *Heroick* and renowned Saints, and would have Pillars and Monuments erected to their immortal Memories, had they Power equal to their Kindneſs to thoſe Glorious Villains, who are ſtill the Idols of their Hearts; yet they would make this paſs for excuſe ſufficient for the whole Company of their Perſwaſion, that they were not every individual man of them actually upon the *Trial* and Condemnation of the *King*, or ſet their Hands and Seals to the Warrant for his Execution: So that conſenting to, approving, and applauding the *Fact* when done, muſt paſs for Innocence, that ſo they may plead Not Guilty, though after all this, the Survivers of thoſe differing Factions, and their Succeſſors in the ſame *Principles*, were never heard or known to manifeſt ſo much, as, in the cheap way of words, their unfeigned deteſtation, and abhorrence of that wicked *Rebellion*, which brought the King to that deplorable Death; and I think, without breach of Charity, I may introduce their Famous *Baxter*, who is the whole Schiſme in *Epitome*, neither *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *&c.* but both, and all of them, ſpeaking the true ſenſe of the whole body of the *Separation*; and I am confident, if they had all one Mouth, and he were the Tongue (the Office he would chuſe) he would ſpeak for them in his Language of the Holy Common-wealth; *I cannot ſee that I was miſtaken in the main* Cauſe, *nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the ſame, if*

it were to do again in the same state of things. (Baxters *Holy Common-wealth, pag.* 486.)

And therefore, if this Argument happens to be started, though the late *Statute*, which makes some sorts of Language Treasonable, render them more cautious and reserved, yet they will plead for themselves, that Matters were carried to those Extremities, much beyond the intention of those who first took up Arms against the *evil Counsellors*, and had no ill Design either against the Person of the *King*, or his just Power and *Prerogative*; but they will dye before they will acknowledge, that the *War* on the Parliaments side, let the pretended Reasons be what they will, was unjust and unlawful, and that the taking up Arms by Subjects against their King, is not only unlawful but damnable: Now the maintaining of this *Opinion* of the Lawfulness of the War, was that which in reality cut off the *Kings* Head: And will be the *Eternal* Parent of future *Rebellions*, so long as it is propagated and received. For if *Subjects* may upon any colourable pretensions, which can never be wanting so long as Men are Wicked enough to invent them, be allowed to take up Arms against their *King*, it is morally impossible but things must proceed to the utmost Extremities; for he that draws his Sword against his *King*, must throw away the Scabbard; and it is a Crime of so high a Nature, that tho' there should be found a *King* of so *God-like* a Temper, as really to pardon the greatest *Rebels*, yet the Consciousness of their own Guilt, and the perpetual apprehensions of deserved Punishment, will never permit such *Rebels* to believe his intentions real and sincere, and therefore the uneasiness of their fears, naturally conducts them to cure their Fears, and consult their future Safety, by removing the Cause of their distrust and danger.

But however these two Factions, and the Spawn of them, may endeavour to palliate this horrid Guilt, and, that they may be the better enabled to maintain their Party and increase it, may endeavour to acquit themselves by criminating one another, nothing is more evident, than that both these Factions of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and the other lesser Sects and Schismaticks which sprung

from

from their Roots, were actually Guilty of the *Kings Murder*; and that not only by their fomenting and carrying on the War againſt him, whereby he was reduced to thoſe Extremities, that he was forced to throw himſelf upon the Perjured *Scottiſh Presbyterians*, who ſold him to the *Engliſh Independents*, who Murdered him, but alſo by not hindring and preventing the doing of it. For it is a moſt certain Truth, *Qui non prohibet, cum poteſt, jubet.* For inſtance, Two Thieves bind an honeſt Man and rob him, one is for diſpatching him out of the way, that he may not ever be in a capacity to proſecute them, the other pretends, he does not ſo well approve of that laſt Extremity; while they are in the conteſt, the honeſt Mans Servant comes up, and finding his Maſter in that condition, puts himſelf in a poſture to attempt his Reſcue; now he who was pretendedly againſt the Murder, though he could well enough diſpence with the Robbery, if he had meant ſincerely, ought rather to have aſſiſted the Loyal Servant in his Generous and Dutiful Deſign; and it had then been eaſie to have delivered the deſpoiled Priſoner, at leaſt from the danger of Death; but inſtead of this, he joyns with his former Companion, and aſſiſts him firſt to diſpatch the Servant, who indeavoured his Maſters Deliverance, and then ſits him down, while his Companion ſends his Fetter'd Maſter to keep him Company. Now do I appeal to God and Men, whether both theſe men were not involved in equal guilt, as well he, who help'd to bind, diſarm, and rob the Maſter, and oppoſed the honeſt indeavour of his Servant to deliver him, as he who actually imbrued his Hands in their innocent Blood.

The Caſe is exactly the ſame, but under this more hainous aggravation, that *Royal Blood* is much more valuable and Sacred, than that which runs in Common veins. The Zealous *Presbyterian* Saints began the late Rebellion, and the *Independents* and other *Schiſmaticks*, being aſſociated with them in that Traiterous Combination of the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, they joyntly and unanimouſly proſecuted the War, and, by murdering of ſuch of his Loyal Subjects, as out of Duty and Conſcience came to his aſſiſtance, having ſubdued his Forces, they got his Perſon

into their Power. The *Independents*, having in the mean time gotten the Aſcendant of Power over the *Presbyterians*, were abſolutely for aſſuring their Uſurpation by the *King*'s death; on the other ſide the *Presbyterians*, more out of deteſtation of the *Independents*, who now began to deride their Diſcipline, and have their *Blew-Cap-Reformation*, as they termed it, in the utmoſt contempt and hatred, than out of true Loyalty and Duty to the *King*, were for ſhackling of His *Majeſty* with *Parliament* Fetters, and ſo to let him live; hoping under the protection of his Authority and Name, to re-eſtabliſh their own Power, and ſubdue the *Independents*: And for this purpoſe was all the noiſe of a *Perſonal Treaty* with the *King*, during his Confinement at *Cairsbrook* Caſtle in the *Iſle* of *Wight*; in which, if they had meant honourably and ſincerely, they might have had ſuch Conditions as would have brought ſufficient advantage and reputation, both to their Cauſe and Intereſt: But ſo ſtiff were they in their Demands, and ſo cautious to put ſtrong and laſting Fetters upon His *Majeſty*, that the whole *Treaty* came to nothing. In the mean time the *Royaliſts*, ſeeing the gaſping condition of the *King* and Monarchy, and that nothing but the moſt abject Vaſſallage was to be expected from thoſe Men, who were reſolved to make their *King* a *Royal Slave*; they ſummoned their ſcattered Force to make one Vigorous Attempt for his deliverance: Now, had the *Presbyterians* joyned in that generous Deſign, in all humane probability, the *King* had been reſcued from his Captivity among the *Independents*; by which means they might have obtained honourable Conditions of Oblivion, Security and Accommodation for the Preſent, and Reputation for the Future: But ſo far were they from this, that mortally hating the *Loyal Party*, they contributed all that lay in their power to aſſiſt the *Independent* Army under *Fairfax*, or indeed *Cromwel*, for the other was but a *Cypher*, utterly to ruine and ſubdue the ſlender Remains of Loyalty which had taken Arms in *Kent* and *Eſſex*; which when it was accompliſhed, by the ſurrender of *Colcheſter*, and the Execution of the Noble *Capel*, *Liſle*, and *Lucas*, the *Independents* fell preſently upon their Bloody Project of cutting off the *King*, and ſubverting the

the *Monarchy*, which they alſo effected, the *Presbyterians* all this while ſitting ſtill and looking on: Whereas, had they ever heartily oppoſed ſuch a deteſtable Wickedneſs, their Party was then ſo conſiderable, that, with the Addition of the *Loyal Intereſt*, which was not ſo dead, but that upon the leaſt hope it would have revived and joyned them, they might have given ſuch a ſhock to the *Independent* Faction, that they would difficultly, if ever, have been able to accompliſh or execute their Execrable Deſign againſt the Life of the *King*; but ſo far were they from this, that there was not the leaſt Attempt to oppoſe the *Traytors*, or prevent the *Treaſon*. Nay, had the Rabble of the *City* and *Suburbs*, which were much at the Devotion of the *Presbyterian* Intereſt, had but half ſo much Zeal to hurry down to *Weſtminſter*, to oppoſe the Murder of the *King*, as they had before times to oppoſe him, and cry up *Priviledge of Parliament*, in the beginning of the *Tumults*, it is very diſputable, whether *Cromwel*, with all his black *Myrmidons*, would have had the Courage to ſtrike the Fatal Stroke. But the *Presbyterians* are only Couragious in Rebellion, but perfect Cowards in the Cauſe of *Loyalty*.

But to theſe little palliating ſhifts, to which the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* have been reduced, to varniſh and guild over their Infamous Actions, they have now very lately found out another, and that is, to vindicate themſelves, by charging the whole Contrivance and Execution of this helliſh Murder of the late *King*, upon the *Papiſts*: And though nothing in the World is more ridiculous or remote from the truth in moſt demonſtrable Matter of Fact, yet it is incredible, how much the belief of this ſenſeleſs Fiction and *Romance* has gained upon this new Generation of the Vulgar Proſelytes of the Diſſenters: And I ſpeak it of my own knowledge, that in Diſcourſe with divers of them, when I have made uſe of this Argument of the Wickedneſs and Infamy of the moſt Eminent *Patrons* of their Religion, who, as Mr. *Baxter* confeſſes of himſelf, when he tells us, *I have been in the heat of my Zeal ſo forward to Changes and Ways of Blood, that I fear God will not let me have a hand in the Building of his Church,*

Hypocriſie unveil'd, R. Baxter's *Letters to Dr.* Hill, *pag.* 11.) muſt needs be ill men, and worſe Guides to Heaven, and have, from their guilt of the *Kings Blood*, indeavoured to reclaim them from following the *Witchcraft* of ſuch dangerous *Principles*, and to bring them home to the Communion of the Loyal and Primitively obedient Church of *England*; I have been amazed to hear, with what confidence they have vindicated their Leaders and Party, from the leaſt ſhare or imputation of the guilt of that Horrid Murder, and averred with as much confidence, that the late *King* was murdered by the Papiſhes, as they call them, as if it had been true beyond all contradiction.

I have no deſign, to turn Advocate for the *Romiſh Religion*, and profeſs my ſelf to have a moſt deep deteſtation and abhorrence for *Sanguinary*, *Traiterous*, Seditious, Diſloyal, and *King-killing*, or depoſing Principles, in any Religion or Perſwaſion whatſoever, and do firmly believe, that, That Religion which holds, juſtifies, or tolerates ſuch Principles, is ſo far Erroneous, Falſe, and Damnable: But this being a perfect piece of *Leger-de-main*, purpoſely calculated to deceive the Common-people into a good opinion of the worſt, and moſt dangerous Enemies of the *Monarchy*, the *Diſſenters*, and thereby to enable them ſtill to ſpread the Venom of their *Principles*, under the Vail of Innocence, and to make this Innocence appear by transferring the Guilt of their former Actions upon others, I think it of ſo miſchievous Conſequence, that it ought to be obviated, and the falſhood detected and made evident by the Beams of moſt irrefragable Truth.

And therefore, for ever to ſilence all theſe fooliſh and frivolous *Arts* and *Palliations*, and to take away the Fig-leaves, which theſe guilty ſinners have ſo Artificially patch'd together, and to ſhew to the whole World from their Own *Memoirs*, that it was the very real *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and other Sectaries, their Aſſociates, and no other, who were actually guilty of the whole Scene of this horrible Murder of the King.

The Orignal *Journal* of the whole proceedings of that deteſtable Murder, and the previous *Tryal*, which was drawn up by the Order of the *Regicides*, and preſented then

then to the Commons-House, and there publickly read, and approved for a true *Record*, and which is attested under the Hand of *Phelps*, the Clerk to that pretended *High Court of Justice*, having by pure *accident*, shall I call it, or particular *Providence* come to my hands, and having the opportunity to take a true Copy or Transcript of it, I thought my self bound in Conscience, by the Duty which I owe to my *King*, and the Peace and happiness of my Country, to make it publick; that, if it were possible, all true *English-men* might be made sensible of the horrid Guilt and danger of such Men, and such *Principles*, and so far consult their own, and the Interest of their *Posterity*, as to endeavour such a true and *thorough Reformation*, as can only make the present and future Ages happy, which can never be hoped for, so long as the Whoredoms and *Witchcrafts* of this *Painted Jezabel* of the *Old Presbyterian and Independent Cause*, are continued and cherished among us: And most assuredly, it is the Duty of every good Christian and Loyal Subject, to contribute the utmost of his endeavours to suppress the Growth of such dangerous *Principles*, as drive men so furiously headlong, with the pretences of Religion, to the most daring and desperate Extremities of *Treason* and *Rebellion*, and to the very Precipice of *Damnation*.

I do not herein pretend, to exceed the Limits of a private Person, or hereby foolishly to undertake to prescribe Measures to the Government in the Management of this Important Affair; but within my own *Sphere*, I cannot but think my self and all other private Persons, according to their Capacity, Opportunities, and Power, under an indispensable Obligation to oppose and indeavour to stop the Impetuous Torrent of these wicked, bloody, and unpeaceful Opinions and *Principles*, which have once before drowned this Nation in Bloodshed and Misery, and who by their swelling and breaking over all the banks of Law, Duty, and Obedience, threaten us with continual danger and apprehensions of a more cruel and dreadful *Inundation*: and I esteem my self warranted to oppose them, by their Example, since the diligence, assiduity, and restless endeavours, with which they do, to a single man of the Party,

purſue their Ends and Wicked Intereſt, makes it abſolutely the Duty as well as Intereſt of all ſuch as are Loyal, who love their Country, Church, and King, as heartily, unanimouſly, and zealouſly to make head againſt them, and endeavour to cruſh this Cockatrice in the Egg, which otherwiſe will moſt certainly diſcloſe a fiery flying Serpent. And I cannot ſee any Expedient ſo probable to ſucceed, as the expoſing them naked and ſtript of their Artificial Trappings, Painting, and Counterfeit *Gems* of Sanctity and Innocence, with which they are wont to impoſe upon the Minds of credulous and eaſie People. I ſhall only therefore bring them to be ſurveyed by the light of Nature, Reaſon, Intereſt, and *Religion*, and that I may do them the moſt Impartial Juſtice, ſhew them to the World in the *Glaſſes* of their own making; and, if there they do not like the Figure and Image which they make, they ought only to quarrel their own deformities, which will not in any Glaſs, except that of their own flattering and falſe *Opinion*, afford them any Shape leſs Monſtrous and Ugly.

And I verily perſwade my ſelf, that were the Common-People of this Nation throughly inſtructed by thoſe, whoſe Duty it is to perform that Charitable Office, in the black Conſequences, which neceſſarily, naturally, and unavoidably follow the *Principles* of thoſe Leading Men of the *Separation*, and made ſenſible how much they are the Enemies to our Peace and Happineſs, both here and hereafter, even Nature and Humanity would teach Men to abandon them, as the moſt dangerous Cheats and cruel Impoſtors; and they, who now admire the Beauty of theſe *Painted Sepulchres*, the Seditious *Meeting Houſes*, were they aware of the *Devil's* Trap-Doors of Rebellion and *Damnation*, which are there planted, would be more cautious of crouding into them: And were it poſſible, as I think it is eaſie, if it were vigorouſly indeavoured, to convince the deluded *Vulgar*, who have theſe Mens Perſons in ſuch admiration, and who are ſo apt to be inchanted with the Songs of theſe bewitching *Syrens*, that under all thoſe fair Words and ſanctimonious Pretences, this Whining about *Goſpel Liberty* and Perſecution for Conſcience, this Puking at *decent Ceremonies*, and more decent and beautiful Order

and

and Government, this bellowing againſt *Antichriſt*, *Popery*, and *Prelacy*, there is all this while concealed, the Ruine of their Country, the Deſtruction of the Government, the Subverſion of the Laws, Sedition, Tumults, Inſurrections, Murder, Fire and Sword, Slavery and Infamy, and at the laſt *Eternal Damnation*, and endleſs Torments, certainly they would not only forſake, but deteſt and abhor thoſe Impoſtors and Deceivers.

Now all this is as demonſtratively true, as to the matter of former Fact, and future Conſequence, as God is true and juſt, and as that is True and Canonical *Scripture*, which from the Mouth of Gods infallible Spirit, aſſures us, without any Limitation or Reſervation, without any Exception or Diſpenſation, *That whoſoever reſiſt the Higher Powers, reſiſt the Ordinance of God, and ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.* Now, if Rebellion be reſiſting the Higher Powers, as certainly if that be not, nothing is, and if we be able to prove thoſe of the *Separation*, to a ſingle Man of them, Guilty of it, either in Fact or in Principles, or in Both, then are they certainly within the danger of this Terrible Sentence: Let the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c. therefore ſhew us a Diſpenſation as Authentick, as this Command, to tolerate Them and their Diſciples, to raiſe Seditions, to defame their *King* and his Government, to cancel the Obligations of the *Oaths* of Allegiance and Supremacy, to contemn the Laws, to diſobey the lawful Commands of their Superiors, and at the laſt, if they have ſtrength and opportunity, to take up Arms and Rebel, and if they prevail to ſhake off the Yoke of Subjection and due Obedience, Impriſon and Murder their *King*, diſ-inherit his Lawful Heirs and Succeſſors, to all which, their Principles have led them, and Naturally and Eternally will lead them; and then indeed they may, as they preſumptuouſly do, promiſe Heaven to Themſelves, and Followers: But till they are able ſo to do, and to produce a *New Goſpel*, with a Patent of Indulgence from *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, to ſuperſede the Obligation of his former Commands, and to change not only the Names but the Nature of things, by turning *Rebellion* into *Religion*, and violating the Laws of God and Man into Obe-

dience, they will remain under the unavoidable danger of the intolerable Penalty, annexed to Reſiſting the Higher Powers, and in concluſion, will moſt aſſuredly find a *Hell* inſtead of a *Heaven*, and Damnation in the place of that Happineſs, which the *Heads* of the *Separation* do as confidently promiſe to their *Followers*, as they vainly expect from their *Teachers*.

Whether it have proceeded from miſtaken *Charity*, or, which is much worſe, from a *Cowardly Timorouſneſs* of falling under the Indignation of the *Diſſenters*, and conſequently of moſt ſevere Revenge, if ever they have power to execute it, I cannot tell; but truly in my Opinion, the not preſſing of theſe neceſſary Truths upon the People, of the unlawfulneſs of Rebellion, upon any pretence whatſoever, and their danger of Damnation, in following theſe Helliſh Principles, of Popular Soveraignty, Reformation by Blood, Tumults, and the Power of the Sword, of the Lawfulneſs of Depoſing, Judging, and inflicting Capital Puniſhments upon Soveraign Princes; and the want of expoſing the neceſſary Conſequences of theſe and ſuch like Fatal Opinions, and ſhewing them the horrible Influences, they have formerly had upon the Peace and Happineſs of the *Nation*, it is to be feared, hath contributed too much to the increaſe of the Vulgar part of the Faction.

And truly this neceſſary work is ſo eaſie to be done, from plain matters of undeniable Fact, that there need be no recourſe to *Rhetorical* Amplifications, or *Hyperbolical* Expreſſions, to move not only the Paſſions, but the Reaſon of all Mankind to the utmoſt degrees of Hatred and Abhorrence againſt ſuch dreadful *Principles*: The Treaſons, Conſpiracies, the Wars, the Rapines, the Hypocriſies, Perjuries, and Sacrileges, the Butcheries, Oppreſſions, Murders, and thoſe Rivers of Innocent Blood, and, which ſurpaſſeth all, the Blood of their King, through which theſe *Separatiſts* have waded, to obtain by the Power of Rebellion and the Force of the Sword, an uſurped Soveraignty, and unlimited Arbitary Dominion over the People of theſe Nations, thereby to render the freeſt People of the World, the vileſt Slaves in the Univerſe, are certainly ſuch undeniable Truths, which are juſtly chargeable

able upon them, as are ſufficient to ſet ſuch an Eternal Brand of Infamy upon thoſe, who have been guilty of them, as would render it impoſſible for them to deceive the People by their other Arts, and pretended *Sanctity*; and truly their making *Religion* ſtoop to their baſe Deſigns, and thereby proſtituting that which is moſt Sacred, to the moſt unhallowed Actions, and moſt unparallel'd Wickedneſs, would be ſo far from doing them any advantage, that, to all honeſt, virtuous, and religious Minds, it would make them appear more horrible and odious, becauſe becoming thereby more miſchievous and dangerous: for the *Devil*, transformed into the ſhape of an *Angel* of Light, is no leſs a *Devil* for his ſtoln brightneſs, and the very ſtealing of that Glorious Shape ought rather to make him be eſteemed of the worſt ſort of thoſe Infernal Spirits, becauſe he only takes it upon him, to be thereby inabled to do the more Miſchief to Mankind, and to cheat them out of Happineſs, by pretending to make them Happy: And if the Embaſing, Waſhing, and Counterfeiting of Money, be ſuch a deceipt, as hath merited Capital Puniſhment, and hath rendred the Offenders Infamous and Odious to all men, becauſe it robs them of ſome part of their ſhare of the Riches of this World, how much more Odious and Capital an offence is it, againſt God and Man, to Embaſe and Counterfeit *Religion*, and to cheat men of their Souls and Bodies, by ſtamping the *Impreſs* and Superſcription of *Heaven* upon the *Metal* of *Hell*, and putting off this falſe Coyn for Good, Currant, and Eternal Treaſure?

Now let the Diſſenting *Separatiſts* diſclaim and diſavow this Impoſture with never ſo much Scorn or Confidence, and make the wonted boaſts of their Sanctity and Purity, reprobating all others, beſides themſelves, yet if the Apoſtle * St. *James* have any Authority with them, let him be the Judge and Umpire of the difference, He affirms *that the Wiſdom* (or Religion, for Religion is the only Wiſdom), *which is from above*, is not only *Pure, but Peaceable, Gentle, Eaſie to be intreated, full of Mercy, and good Fruits*, * *unturbulent, and without Hypocriſie, and* that the Religion which produces *Strife, Envying, Confuſion and*

* *St. James* 3. *cap.* 15, 16, 17. *ver.*

* *The word* ἀδιάκριτος *imports rerum ſtatus inconfuſus intorbatus, ſine lite.*

every evil Work, is ſo far from being of Divine Original, and deſcending from above, that it is *earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh*: This is the *Criterion*, the Touch-ſtone, which we challenge the ſhining Chymical Religion of the *Separatiſts* to indure the Aſſay by, and I am aſſured, if we muſt try the truth of their Faith by the ſtandard of their own Works, and this *Apoſtolical Rule*, it will be utterly impoſſible for them, to make out their Title to that true Religion, which they they do ſo arrogantly boaſt of, and ſo wholly appropriate to Themſelves and Party, that though *Heaven* be capacious enough to entertain the Inhabitants of a thouſand *Earths*, yet can they not allow one inch to any, beſides thoſe of their Perſwaſion: And 'tis no wonder, if their own narrow Souls perſwade them, they are only in the narrow way; but the *Phariſees*, their Predeceſſors in Principles and Pretenſions, were never the nearer to entring into the Glorious Gates of Eternity, for their being ſo buſie in framing Bolts and Locks to exclude all others from entring into thoſe Bleſſed Regions.

And not to paſs over even the Narrow Seas, and there to trace theſe Turbulent Men and their Principles through all the Paths of Miſchief, which they have beaten in Forreign Countries, whereby they have forfeited all Right to St. *James's* Character of the true Religion, which is peaceable, as well as pure; our own dear *England*, our Cities, or Towns, our Villages, our prophaned Temples, and our Holy Altars thrown down as Idolatrous, our bluſhing Fields, and our bleeding Laws, our gaſping Liberty, and expiring Religion, our Eſtates conſumed with Arbitrary Taxes, and heavy Impoſitions unknown to our generous Anceſtors; ſo many Oppreſſions, Exactions, Plunder, and Free Quarter, ſuch vaſt Treaſures borrowed upon the Publick Faith, Sequeſtrations and Compoſitions exhauſted, ſo many thouſand Lives as periſhed in the late Calamitous Rebellion, the entire ſubverſion of the Government, and the barbarous Murder of a Lawful King, thouſands of living Witneſſes and Sufferers under the Cruelty and Bondage of their *Uſurpation*, nay, their own Authentique Records, Declarations, Proteſtations, Covenants and Aſſociations, and, which is more than all theſe,

their

their own Conſciences are Witneſſes before God and the whole World of Men and Angels, that the *ways of Peace are not known to them*, or make any part in the Compoſition of their Religion; but that, notwithſtanding their high Pretenſions to Purity, Seditions, Tumults, Inſurrections, Treaſon and Rebellion are the Fruits and Effects, the Conſequences and Concluſion of the Separation, which begins with Whining in a *Conventicle* againſt *Ceremonies* and Perſecution for Conſcience ſake, but in the end advances into the open Field with the loud Arguments of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering Language of the Cannon, and in downright defiance and oppoſition of Lawful Government and Authority by Arms and Violence, or the baſer ways of ſecret *Treaſons* and *Aſſaſſinations*.

Had there been indeed but one ſingle Inſtance of the miſchievous and dangerous inclinations of theſe combined *Factions*, it were ſufficient for ever to ruine their Reputation amongſt wiſe and ſober minded Men: But they have given ſo many repeated Teſtimonies of their hatred of the preſent Government both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, and of a reſtleſs, turbulent, and unreclaimable Temper, obſtinately reſolved upon the firſt opportunity to Attempt the Subverſion and Ruine of them both, that there cannot be the leaſt excuſe found out to plead in mitigation of their Crimes: But to all their former Guilt, and the very late diſturbances and ſeditious behaviour of which they have, under the new Denomination of *The True Proteſtants*, been moſt notoriouſly guilty, the detection of this laſt Execrable *Conſpiracy* to take off the moſt Gracious and Indulgent *Prince* in the World, and his Illuſtrious and only *Brother* the *Duke*, by the moſt infamous method of *Aſſaſſination*, is ſuch a demonſtrative Evidence of their implacable Malice, that they cannot add any thing more Black and Wicked, to render them, till they abandon theſe Trayterous Principles, moſt deteſtable and odious to all Loyal Subjects and good Chriſtians.

The *Faction* indeed ſtand much upon their *Tiptoes* again, now their firſt Conſternation for the Diſcovery is over, and becauſe they are not to a ſingle man found upon a Muſter-Roll among the infamous *Conſpirators*, would from thence

argue a kind of Innocency in the Party: But let any Perſon conſider, that ſo great an undertaking, as the Subverſion of this well-built Government, and the juſtifying of ſuch horrid Methods, by which it was to be begun, was never poſſibly to be effected by a few Heads or Hands; and that there being an abſolute neceſſity to ſecond the firſt *Blow* by a moſt conſiderable Force of Arms, and it will be impoſſible to doubt, but that the *Conſpirators*, though they did not Communicate the Particularities of their *Treaſonous Deſign* to every Individual perſon, from whom they expected aſſiſtance, yet made themſelves moſt aſſured of aſſiſtance, from a Powerful Party, which ſhould joyn with them to perfect their Execrable purpoſes.

For it is impoſſible that ſo many Men, as are known to be of the *Conſpiracy*, both by their own Confeſſion, and the Teſtimony of ſo many unexceptionable Witneſſes, and Circumſtances, ſhould all of them by conſent become *Ideots* and Madmen, to think of accompliſhing ſuch amazing *Treaſons* by *Miracles* or the Strength of Imagination; it is true, a ſmall number of ſuch deſperate helliſh Villains, as were imbarqued in the moſt wicked Enterprize, might (I am all horror to name it,) with their *Blunderbuſſes* have Aſſaſſinated the *King* and his *Royal Brother*; but it muſt be a numerous Party, who muſt have ſeconded that *Curſed Blow*, ſo as to inable them to overcome all the ſucceeding Difficulties and Oppoſitions, which they could not but foreſee they muſt encounter with, from the *Loyal Party*, who by the *Shaftsbury Aſſociation*, and the well known Malice of the *Excluſioners*, which comprehended the whole Faction of the *Diſſenters*, would quickly have diſcovered who were the *Traytors*, and *Murderers* of the *King* and his *Brother*, and would certainly moſt vigorouſly have oppoſed them, and the progreſs of their Deſigns of *Uſurpation*.

Now from what Quarter of Heaven, or from what Subterranean Caverns muſt this aſſiſtance come? Did they expect any of *Eliſha's* Flaming Battalions, or an Army of Aery Combatants? or had they a promiſe of Forty Thouſand *Black Bills*, that would fight without hands, or a Levy of St. *Jago Pilgrims*, to make uſe of theſe

Black-

Black-Bills, to defend and ſupport their blacker Cauſe? They muſt certainly be all *Lunaticks* indeed and Madmen, if they relyed upon an inviſible Power. Nor is it to be doubted, but that, how much ſoever they would have intituled God to the *Cauſe*, as their Anceſtors and Predeceſſors in Rebellion had done, yet, like them, they would not ſo abſolutely have repoſed their truſt in Him, but that they would wiſely have thought, the beſt of their way was to make uſe of the Arm of Fleſh, and a Sword of Steel, which they knew by experience would prove a better defence than the Shield of Faith, or their pretended Sword of the Spirit, and enable them to ſettle *Chriſt* in his *Throne* (as the *Presbyterians* uſe to cant it) by diſpoſſeſſing the *King* of His: But beſides the *Old Army Officers*, who were to command them, there muſt be an *Army* to be commanded; and who could theſe *Levies* conſiſt of, but the Factious Schiſmaticks and Diſſenters, who having liſted themſelves under *Separation*, the very Standard of the *Old Cauſe*, no man in his Senſes can doubt, but, had her bloody Colours, wrought with Liberty of Conſcience, and *Colledges* Motto, *No Popery, No Slavery*, been once diſplaid in the Field, whole Troops of Zealous *Volunteers* would, in the Language of their Addreſſes, have offered their *Lives and Fortunes*, and hazarded their Souls and Bodies in her ſervice, againſt the *Tyranny* of *King-ſhip*, the uſeleſsneſs and danger of *Peerage*, and the *Antichriſtianiſm* of *Prelacy* and *Popery*: *Pentland Hills*, and *Bothwel Bridge* give us good aſſurance of the Inclinations and Forwardneſs of theſe pretended Saints, to take up Arms and propagate the Goſpel by the wrong Sword; though if they were not infatuated, even to Perdition, the diſcovery of their *Treaſons*, and the baffling of their repeated attempts againſt *Gods Vicegerent*, were ſufficient to convince them, how diſagreeable their Practices, and the Principles which lead them, are to the Divine *Majeſtie* and Supreme *Monarch* of the World.

But that which puts this matter out of all diſpute, is the Teſtimony of their own *Conſciences*. *The Plot*, ſaith *Walcot*, one of the Conſpirators, is laid broad and deep; and Colloncl *Sidney* profeſſeth boldly, that he dies a *Martyr*

that *Old Cauſe*, in which he had from his Youth been trained up: The Diſſenters eſteem him no leſs; Now do I appeal to themſelves, if they do not think the *Cauſe*, for which he Glories that he died a *Martyr*, a Righteous Cauſe? Nay, and Gods Righteous Cauſe too? If they do not think ſo, why do they ſo zealouſly embrace, and, ſo far as they may without danger of the Laws, encourage, ſupport, and defend it, by continuing ſo pertinaciouſly in their *Separation*, the very Badge and diſtinguiſhing *Character* of thoſe, who have devoted themſelves to it? Moſt aſſuredly, if they did not think ſo of it, they would for ever abandon it. And if they do think and believe, that it is *Gods Righteous Cauſe*, they will judge themſelves under the moſt powerful Obligations in the World, upon occaſion offered, to be aſſiſtant with their Perſons or Purſes to maintain it, and even to fight the Lords Battels againſt the Mighty: And were it poſſible to keep the Two *Devils* of Fear and Diſſimulation from jogging their Elbows, and pulling them by the Sleeves, to make them conceal the depth of their Hearts, I do ſtrongly aſſure my ſelf, that they would boldly tell the World, and proclaim it by the ſound of Trumpet and beat of Drum, That they eſteem nothing they poſſeſs, not their very Lives, too precious, if they may be inſtrumental in carrying on the Glorious Reformation of the *Old Cauſe*.

And here are the Dimenſions of this late *Conſpiracy*, the depth and breadth of the *Plot*, which *Walcot* mentions; which is not one hairs breadth narrower, or one inch ſhallower, than the united Strength, Power, and Intereſt of the whole Faction of the *Diſſenters*; who would once again have adventured not only Bodkins and Thimbles, Plate, Money, Horſes and Arms, but their Lives alſo, to ſet up this *Golden Calf* of their *Old Cauſe*, had not God been more Gracious and Merciful to them and the whole Nation, than to ſuffer them, by Succeſs in this Wicked Enterprize, to run headlong to our *Ruine*, and their own *Damnation*.

Let it ſuffice, That all Wiſe Men know, that the ſtrength of this deteſtable Conſpiracy was built upon no other Foundation, than the Hopes and Confidence which the

Traytors

Traytors had, from ſome of the Principal of them, of the Aſſiſtance, the Vigorous, Unanimous Aſſiſtance of the *Diſſenters*; and that all Good, Honeſt, and Loyal men believe it; nay, that they who ſeem moſt to diſpute or doubt it, are conſcious to themſelves of their own good wiſhes, not only to the Principal *Traytors*, but even to the *Treaſon*; and ſince it is well known they have long ago abandoned all ſhame for ſuch Imputations, nothing but the diſappointment of their hopes and expectations, could be the Cauſe of that Univerſal damp, conſternation, amazement, and dejection which were ſo viſibly painted in their Faces, that one might know them by thoſe Marks from other men, as they walk't the Streets: And though they are ſomthing recovered out of the trance of their Sorrows, and have reaſſumed ſome part of their wonted courage and confidence, yet even that courage betrays their guilt, whileſt they wholly imploy it to diſcredit all belief of the truth of this *Conſpiracy*: And it is almoſt impoſſible, to give a more infallible Demonſtration for the certainty of any thing in this World than for this, and that they muſt of neceſſity be in ſome ſort or other Guilty themſelves, who Ridicule, Extenuate, Palliate, Applaud, Juſtifie, and uſe all the Arts imaginable, not only to make their Party appear Innocent, but to make the whole *Plot* an Artifice and a Contrivance, and to arraign the Supreme Power and the Juſtice of the Nation as Guilty, by the Condemnation and Execution of the Principal *Traytors* and Accomplices in the Treaſon: And certainly they have no thoughts of abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch black and execrable Villanies, nor any intentions to abandon them, who do ſo warmly hugg and cheriſh the only Cauſe of this, and ſo many other Treaſons, Plots, and Conſpiracies both againſt the late *King* and his preſent *Majeſtie*, their wicked Principle of Separation, which is the Mother of all thoſe Seditions, Inſurrections, and Rebellions, which to their coſt theſe Nations have ſo often felt.

For when Men have once ſeparated themſelves from the *Eccleſiaſtical*, they do at the ſame inſtant cut the Cords and Ligaments of Obedience to the Civil Govern-

ment; they, by uſurping Soveraign Power to diſpenſe with the Obligation of any one Law, bid open defiance to the very Eſſence of all Laws, and, without the conſent of *King, Lords, and Commons*, undertake to Abrogate, Repeal, and make not only void, but unlawful, and unjuſt, and intolerable ſuch *Acts of Parliament*, as were by the Common Conſent of the *King* and the Three Eſtates of the Realm, Enacted to retain the Subjects in their due Obedience, and cannot without ſhocking the very Foundations of the Government be cancelled by any other Authority, than that which at firſt gave them being: So that they are in actual Rebellion even at the firſt ſtep, though not in actual Arms, and open Hoſtility, againſt the *King*, the Laws, and the very Conſtitution and Life of the Government, which conſiſts in the Power and Authority of making Laws, and exacting Obedience to them: Now this diſobedience to the Laws, and thereby diſowning the Authority which made them, naturally leads the tranſgreſſors to fear the Penalties of thoſe Laws which they have violated, and to dread the threatning edge of the Sword of Juſtice, the *Guardian* of thoſe Laws, with which the Supreme Magiſtrate is by God intruſted, to puniſh the Diſobedient, and preſerve the Peace and Tranquillity of Human Society; Now Fear is only ſo much the Elder Brother of Hatred, as *Eſau* was to *Jacob*, that ſmooth *Supplanter*, ever lays hold of the Heel of its hairy Brother; and when men are once advanced to hate what they fear, they do immediately proceed to wiſh, deſire, and indeavour to put themſelves out of the reach of danger, from what they both fear and hate. When theſe two Paſſions thus adopted into the Family of Religion, have once taken full poſſeſſion of Mens Minds, it is not long before they Precipitate them into the Search of all Ways and Contrivances how to ſecure themſelves; which becauſe they cannot immediately obtain, they preſently fall to accuſing the Laws of Injuſtice, and the Magiſtrates of *Tyranny and Perſecution*, that ſo their diſobedience may find a Refuge under the ſhelter of their pretended Innocence, for which they can have no other Foundation, but the Charging the Laws themſelves with want of Equity

and

and Juſtice: Nor is the Government only to be thus accuſed as unrighteous, and deſpiſed as unjuſt; and obedience to its Laws renounced as unlawful, but their fear and hatred put them upon all the Out-ſide Acts of Hypocritical Piety, and diſſembled Sanctity, that by them they may win both Pity and gain a Party, and ſo intrench themſelves in the Fortifications of Numbers, hoping for Impunity, at leaſt from the Multitude of Offenders, which when they have gained, they are not ſparing of their ſecret Menaces, how unſafe it may be to Exaſperate, and how Impolitique for the Government, by compelling them to Obedience, to force them to extremities. No ſooner have they gained this Point, and that they apprehend that the Scale is turned, and that the Government, of which they before ſtood in ſo much Fear, begins now juſtly to be in fear of them, but they preſently become Inſolent in their Actions, Seditious in their words, Frequent in open Menaces, and *Bold Petitioners* to their *Prince* for ſuch Favours and Indulgences, as they are well aſſured, if he grants, he muſt be ruined, and if he denyes, they are reſolved to endeavour by Force to extort them from him, and the Sum of all their Deſires at the laſt centring in their being intruſted with the *Power* of the *Sword*, the difference at laſt comes to fall under the Fatal Deciſion and Arbitrement of the *Sword*. And how matters muſt be managed, when they come to that diſmal Period, and are referred to the determination of that *Umpire*, I think little need to be ſaid, and it is yet too freſh in memory, to be again repeated; moſt certainly War, and eſpecially a Civil War, can never go unattended by the calamitous *Legions* of Miſery, Ruine, Oppreſſion, Murder, Deſolations, and all the Licentious Miſchiefs, which the Rude and Mercenary Spirits, of which the Inferior Military Men are always compoſed, can be guilty of.

This is the Rare texture of the Spiders Web of *Separation*, in the *Centre* whereof the Devil of Rebellion ſits Enthroned, and though the out-lines of the Circumference ſeem all compoſed of Innocence, Purity, and Reformation, yet when once men come but to touch and

buz about the ſmalleſt Cords of this Fatal Net, like fooliſh Flies they are intangled and caught, and the farther they proceed, and the more they ſtrive, the more are they wrapped and incloſed in the Snares of the *Devil.*

Thus does *Separation* begin with miſtaken Zeal for Religion, which by eaſie ſteps inſenſibly tranſports men to defend one Errour by a thouſand, and to commit the moſt horrid impieties and moſt dreadful ſins, to ſupport and maintain that, which they call their Religion: Thus have we ſeen the Tears of the Widows, and heard the Cries of the Orphans, robbed of their Husbands, Parents, and Eſtates, for the *Glory of God*: We have heard the groaning of the Priſoners, and thoſe appointed to die; we have ſeen ſo many Loyal Free-Subjects, without and againſt Law, Reaſon, and Humanity, brought to Axes, Gibbets, and Halters, and all pretended to be done for *God's Righteous Cauſe and Glory*: Robbing of Churches, and defacing of Temples, Crimes which Heathen *Idolaters* would have bluſh'd at, were all for the *Glory of God too*, and the Honour of his Cauſe. Nay, there is ſcarce that horrible kind of Impiety, Blaſphemy, or any ſort of Wickedneſs to be named, which was not committed during the late Rebellion under this Pretence; and the moſt barbarous and inhumane Outrages, which the afflicted *Royaliſts* ſuffered from theſe pretended *Saints*, are ſo great and many, as it is impoſſible to recount them, all which were ſo far from being puniſhed by the *Uſurping Powers*, that they were encouraged, applauded, juſtified, and rewarded as acceptable Services to *God* and the *Parliament*; Even *Cruelty* was become ſo great a Virtue, that it was one of the choiceſt ſubjects of Diſcourſe, and with which the *Boanergeſes* of the Faction were wont from the ſuffering Pulpit to entertain the People, and Prophane the Temples of the *God* of Peace, with Exhortations to War and Blood. Well might the *God* of Peace and Purity ſend that diſmal Fire of *London* to purge thoſe *Temples*, whoſe Beams and Stones had been ſo tainted by the Leprous breath of Rebellious Preachers, that no whiting or ſcraping, according to the *Moſaick* Method of cleanſing Leprous Houſes, was ſufficient to cleanſe them, ſo as to be fit for the offering up of the Sacrifices of

Prayers

Prayers and Praiſes to the everlaſting *Prince* of Peace, or to have the *Holy Dove*, condeſcend to dwell among men, and aſſiſt their Devotions in thoſe *Holy Places*.

And that I may not ſeem falſly to accuſe them, I will give two or three Inſtances of this *Bloody Divinity*; though I could produce a thouſand, and they who delight to paddle among ſuch Bloody Tenents, may be ſufficiently furniſhed out of the Printed Sermons of the late Times, a conſiderable Collection of which may with little pains be ſeen in my very Excellent Friend, the *Malleus Schiſmaticorum*, Mr. *L'Eſtranges* firſt and ſecond Books of *Diſſenters Sayings*, under the Heads of *Reformation by Blood*, and *The War Juſtified*, &c.

Cut down the Malignants, (ſo was the Royal Party named) *with the Sword of Juſtice, Root them out, and conſume them with Fire, that no root may ſpring again.* (*Walker's Sermon, Jan.* 29. 1644.) If the *Devil* himſelf had fill'd the Pulpit, that Old *Walker*, who like a Roaring Lion goes to and fro ſeeking whom he may devour, could not certainly in fewer words have expreſſed more Comprehenſive Cruelty, or a more Barbarous Thirſt after Humane Blood.

But you ſhall hear another. There is no dallying with God now, ſaith *Caſe*, much delay hath been uſed already, too much; God is angry, and he ſeems to ask this once more, *Will you ſtrike? Will you execute Judgment, or will you not? Tell me; for if you will not, I will: I will have the Enemies Blood, and yours too, if you will not execute Vengeance upon Delinquents, for the Day of Vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my Redeemed is come, Iſa* 63. (*Caſe, before the Commons*, 1644.) Never could the Lips ſure of any, who pretended to fear the *Divinity* which they ador'd, except a *Presbyterian's*, dare to affront him by ſuch a poſitive, audacious, and blaſphemous *Proſopopeia*; herein ſhewing himſelf a falſe Prophet by putting on his Horns of Iron, and puſhing on every ſide of him for Blood and Slaughter; never did any wretched and uninſpired *Mortal* ſo preſumptuouſly and peremptorily undertake to ſpeak the Soveraign will and pleaſure of the *Merciful Creator*, as this bold *Schiſmatick* does in this moſt

 ſangui-

ſanguinary *Decree*, as if he had been admitted into the Cabinet Council with the Almighty, and had not only out-gon St. *Paul* who travelled to the Third Heavens, but had received a more ample Commiſſion, than that *Apoſtle*, to relate, what the other tells us, 2 *Cor. Cap.* 12. *Ver.* 4. *was unſpeakable and not lawful for a Man to utter:* But God be praiſed, who hath aſſured us by the Mouths of his *Inſpired* Servants, the *Prophets*, that he hath no Pleaſure in the Death of his Enemies, as this falſe Prophet would have us believe; and hereby we may eaſily diſcover, that it was he, who was a Murderer from the beginning, who inſpired them with theſe Bloody *Doctrines*, and this Method of abuſing *Scripture*, at which we know he has a moſt notable Talent.

But if any Perſon deſire to ſee a Summary of the ſanguinary deſires of the *Separatiſts*, he may conſult a *Pamphlet* Intituled, *Juſtices Plea*, Printed and Publiſhed *Auguſt*, 1*ſt.* 1644, of which this is the Abridgment.

The Cruel Miſcreant addreſſes himſelf to the *Aſſembly of Divines*, (and by that, he ſhould be a Presbyterian) and vehemently exhorts them to move the High and Honorable Court of *Parliament*, that Juſtice may be ſpeedily and ſeverely Executed upon all the moſt Diſloyal and Treacherous Enemies of the Kingdom.

For, ſaith he, One, if not the main, provoking Cauſe of all our Miſeries, is that Wrath-provoking Sin of Impunity, and not Executing Juſtice and deſerved Puniſhment upon Eminent Offenders and Malefactors amongſt us. Then he falls upon quoting and miſapplying *Scripture*, and the Hiſtory of *Achan*, *Joſhua* 7*th*, and from thence proceeds to charge the Blood of *Bohemia*, the *Palatinate*, *Rochel*, the Iſle of *Rhee*, *Ireland* and *England*, upon the *King* and *Loyal Party*, whom according to the *Presbyterian* Rhetorick he Styles *Papiſts*, *Atheiſts*, *Pontificians*, and *Malignants* of all Sorts and Sexes; and, adds he, ſome of them are put into our Hands as ſo many devoted *Achans*, accurſed ones, yet of all of them, but one Capital Offender, except ſome Inferiour ones, Three in *London*, and as many at *Briſtol*, brought by our Renowned *Joſhua's* (meaning the Faction of the Two Houſes) to deſerved Death and Deſtruction. (*P.* 1.)

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The Remedy, ſaith he, of *England*'s Malady, which is a *State Gangrene*, is the ſerious, zealous, and unpitying Execution of Juſtice upon the ſaid Malefactors, and by no means out of Pretence of ſinful Pity or Partiality to ſpare the Lives of any, whom God hath thus appointed to Death.

And this he endeavours to prove to be a Duty, firſt, from Precepts, *Gen. Cap. 9. Ver. 6. Whoſoever ſheddeth Mans Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed.* This is a general Rule, ſaith he, and, from one end of the *Bible* to the other, admits of no Exception either of Princes or Peaſants, Noble or Ignoble. (So that here you ſee is a Fatal Blow directly levell'd at the Kings Neck by the *Presbyterian* Doctrine, though the *Independents* robb'd them of the power of putting it in practice) but he goes forward, leaving the impreſſions of his Cloven-footed *Tutor* upon every ſtep he takes, and falls with him to his *Scriptum eſt*, quoting 1 *Sam. Chap.* 15. *Ver.* 2, 3. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, I remember that which* Amaleck *did to* Iſrael, *how he laid wait for him in the Way, when he came up from* Egypt. *Now go, and ſmite* Amaleck, *and utterly deſtroy all that they have, and ſpare them not, but ſlay both Man and Woman, Infant and Suckling, Oxe and Sheep, Camel and Aſs.* (The Royaliſts were the *Amalekites*, and the moſt Religious King in the World was, in *Presbyterian* Dialect, *Agag*; and this was the Doom, to which they were adjudged by theſe pretended Saints, and that too as peremptorily, as if God had told them his Will by immediate Revelation, as he did to *Samuel*, and had declared the *King* and his Loyal Subjects his unpardonable Enemies, and as Wicked *Idolaters*, as were the *Amalekites*, and their King *Agag*.) But the killing Blow was alway that paſſage, *Revelations Chap.* 18. *Ver.* 6. *Reward her even as ſhe rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works, in the Cup which ſhe hath filled, fill to her double*; and then to be ſure they came to the daſhing out the Brains of the *Babyloniſh Brats*, the *Cavaleers*, againſt the Stones. Laſtly, adds he, that of the *Prophet Jeremy*, which I moſt humbly and heartily deſire all our Grave and Godly Parliamentary Worthies ſhould be moſt often and extraordinarily minded of, *Jer. Chap.* 48.

ver. 10. *Curſed be he, that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and Curſed be he, that keepeth back his Sword from Blood.* Here's a Precept, cries out this Son of the *Horſeleech*, with a witneſs indeed, a Precept under no leſs than a Curſe, yea an ingeminated Curſe, to ſhew the certainty and ſeverity of Gods diſpleaſure in the neglect of it; yea we ſee, it is called a dealing deceitfully with God and Men, to do it ſlightly, much more not to do it at all; the Lord give thoſe, whom it moſt nearly concerns, care and conſcience timely and truly to ſet upon it. (*Page* 3.)

But leſt the Authority of perverted *Scripture*-Precepts ſhould not be ſufficient to ſtimulate and inſtigate the Heads of the Faction to ſo much Cruelty, and ſo many indiſcriminating premeditated *Murders*, he proceeds to furniſh *Preſidents* to fortifie his bloody Doctrine; and firſt, ſaith he affirmatively, *Phineas* Executed Judgment on *Zimri and Cozbi*. Upon which Text, adds he, as Reverend and Mellifluous Mr. *Marſhal* in his Sermon obſerves, That one man, by his Holy Zeal, may be a means to ſave a whole Kingdom; how much more then a whole *Parliament*, puniſhing Offenders in a Legal way by the Rule of Juſtice. Then he produces *Jehu*, Executing Vengeance upon *Joram* and *Ahaziah*, two Kings, and ſlaying the ſeventy Sons of *Ahab*, and the two and forty Brethren of *Ahaziah* King of *Judah*. 2 *Kings Chap.* 9 *and* 10.

From *Poſitive* he proceeds to *Negative* Preſidents, as he calls them, to ſhew that God was diſpleaſed for neglecting Executing Vengeance upon Capital Offenders; inſtancing in the Quarrel between the *Benjamites* and *Iſraelites*, *Judges* Chap 20*th*. the whole Chapter being, as he ſaith, the very Caſe of *England*; comparing the King and his Party to the wicked *Benjamites*, who had committed and juſtified that inhumane Rape upon the *Levites* Concubine, and the *Parliament* and Faction to the true *Iſraelites*. Then he tells you the ſtory of *Ahab*'s permitting *Benhadad* to eſcape, 1 *Kings* Chap 20. ver. 42. *And he ſaid unto him, thus ſaith the Lord, becauſe thou haſt let go out of thy hands a man whom I appointed to utter deſtruction, therefore thy Life ſhall go for his Life, and thy People for his People.* Then he inſtances in *Saul*'s forfeiting his

his Kingdom for ſparing *Agag*, King of the *Amalekites*, 1 *Sam.* Chap. 15. Ver. 23. *Becauſe thou haſt rejected the word of the Lord, he hath rejected thee from being King.* (A ſtrong puſh for Depoſing and Murdering the King, as being rejected of God, as *Saul* was.)

But in regard this was addreſſed to People, who had Pretended moſt wonderful tenderneſs of *Conſcience*, leſt there ſhould be any remains of that, he comes now to hardning of them by anſwering an Objection.

Obj. What is all this to us of the *Miniſtry* ?

Anſw. It concerns you all very much, and you alſo in the firſt place, even You, *Reverend* Gentlemen: Such as are Arch-Enemies to God and his moſt *Righteous Cauſe*, who have ſuck'd the Blood of Gods precious Ones, are now held in Priſon among us; they are only impriſoned, but ſome only pincht in their Purſes and ſet at Liberty, at leaſt from danger of Death: And this I ſay, nay God ſays, Juſtice is grievouſly neglected, and the juſt Wrath of God highly incenſed and exaſperated againſt us for the ſame. Now you, *Reverend* Gentlemen, are *Sentinels* and Watchmen, *Ezek.* Chap. 3. *Ver.* 7. and Chap. 33. Ver. 7, 8. And you are to give timely and ſerious warning to the Superior Magiſtrates, *Eſa.* Chap. 58. Ver. 1. *Cry aloud, ſpare not, lift up your voices like Trumpets*, to Adviſe, Preach, Petition to purpoſe, our moſt Noble and Honorable *Parliamentary* Worthies, to put in ſerious, zealous, and ſpeedy Execution, this God-pleaſing, Wrath-appeaſing Work of Severity, and exactly puniſhing all Grand Offenders, and Arch-Adverſaries of God and the Kingdom, whoſoever they be.

Then he reminds them, that Juſtice was done on the Earl of *Strafford* by the City of *London*'s means, who, about two years ſince, with an Unanimous and Zealous conſent Aſſembled gravely and adviſedly together, and in a ſober and ſubſtantial manner by their moſt humble Petition, craving and crying out for Juſtice againſt that pernicious *Traytor*, and Cruel Crafty Enemy of the State, the Earl of *Strafford*, accordingly obtained the thing deſired.

And now he comes to intitle *God* to this *Bloody Divinity*, and, as if he had adored ſome of the inhumane *Idols* of the *Pagans*, to beſpeak *Hecatombs* of Humane Sacrifices to honor and ſerve him with: Say, ſaith he, What Honor and Dignity hath been done to God for all the late Victories? Much by the Parliament; but whatever hath been, all is too little; and therefore ſome Extraordinary and Eminent Work, tending to the High Honour of the Lord, our moſt glorious wonder-working God; nothing like deſtroying thoſe *Achans* and *Agags*, whether Great by Place, or Noble by Birth.

But then again, his almoſt ſmothered *Conſcience* gets a little breath to croſs his ſanguinary *Divinity* with an Objection, whileſt he ſtops her Cries with an impertinent and ſhuffling Anſwer.

Obj. But what, ſaith he? Nothing but Blood and *Cruelty*? Make the *Parliament* a *Parliament* of Blood? May not Mercy be as Honourable, as thus fiercely ſhedding Blood?

Anſw. I, or rather Gods Word ſaith, Who art thou that dareſt call that Act Bloody, which God himſelf calls Juſtice and Judgment, and wherein God is ſo delighted. *Secondly*, I ſay not all, but as the Prophet *Jeremy*, Chap. 15. Ver. 2. *Thus ſaith the Lord, ſuch as are for Death to Death; and ſuch as are for the Sword to the Sword, and ſuch as are for the Famine to the Famine, and ſuch as are for the Captivity to the Captivity.* (So that you ſee, the tender Mercies of a *Presbyterian* are Cruelty, and the Merciful *Schiſmatick* is not altogether for Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering; no, good Man! he is only for Sword, Famine, and Captivity, for ſome of them; and I dare ſay, had the abuſed *Text* had Plague, Fire, and Water in it, the Compaſſionate *Creature* would graciouſly have condeſcended to ſpare the *Malignants* from Death, to have Committed them to thoſe other lingring Puniſhments: But here's no Quarter to be given, not one grain of Mercy to be found in his Heart, no Pardon to be had or hoped, and, in the Battel of *Presbyterian* Vengeance, none are like to eſcape.)

But

But now he comes to wind up his Bloody Bottoms, and concludes, That this Advice is given in ſingleneſs and ſincerity of heart, for that he may ſay with *David*, *What have I done, is there not a Cauſe?*

Here is the very Heart, the Soul, the Conſcience of a *True Proteſtant Schiſmatick*, and indeed the very Spirit of *Separation* laid naked and open to the view of all Mankind. Here's a Window into the very Boſome of the Faction; where one may ſee Revenge and Cruelty, Malice and Murder, Hatred of Monarchy, and Contempt of Kings, and ten thouſand other Impieties lodged in every corner of his breaſt. How would theſe Cruel People now like the *Lex Talionis*, *Adonibezek's* Law, not only to have their Toes and Thumbs cut off, but, according to their own Divinity, ſince they are moſt manifeſtly Guilty of what they falſly accuſe the Loyal Party, to be Condemned to all the Severities, which they have ſo uncompaſſionately allotted to others: But they are out of that danger, our Religion teaches us a far different *Temper*, and would they give the Government any tolerable aſſurance, that it were poſſible for them to be peaceable, and forbear pulling the Penalties of the Laws, made for its ſecurity, upon their own Heads, they might grow old, and go in quiet to their own, if they would let others hope to do ſo to their *Graves*.

I will add but one Inſtance more, and that ſhall be of Mr. *Love*, whoſe unpeaceful Zeal was one great occaſion of the breaking off the *Uxbridge Treaty*, by which means ſo many thouſands of poor Souls were ſent in the ſucceeding Wars, to Untimely and Bloody Deaths.

Men, ſaith he, *who lye under the Guilt of much Innocent Blood are not meet perſons to be at Peace with, till all the Guilt of the Blood be expiated and avenged, either by the Sword of the Law, or the Law of the Sword. 'Tis the Sword, not Diſputes and Treaties, that muſt end this Controverſie*; (juſt point blanck contrary to the Text, which is exactly according to the Presbyterian Divinity). *Wherefore turn your Plow-ſhares into Swords, and your Pruning-hooks into Spears, to fight the Lords Battels, to avenge the Blood of Saints, which hath been ſpilt; it muſt be avenged either by us, or upon us.* (Loves *Sermon at* Uxbridge *Treaty*, 1644.)

And ſo it happened; *Providence* it ſeems taking him at his Word; and ſome part of that Innocent Blood, which was ſhed by his incitement, being by thoſe of his own Party, according to his *Oraculous*, tho' otherwiſe intended, Prediction, avenged upon himſelf; which becauſe it fell out by a very uncommon accident, and known to very few, *Providence* ſeeming to interpoſe between him and a Pardon, which was intended for him, and to ſhew us, that *vir ſanguinum non dimidiabit dies ſuos*, Blood-thirſty Men ſhall not live out half their Days, I think it will not here be impertinent to my Deſign, or unprofitable either to the preſent or future Times, to make publick the *Relation* of it, which I had from the Mouth of a very Loyal, Worthy, and Credible Perſon; which was thus.

That the *Independents*, after the Murder of the *King*, having made themſelves abſolute *Conquerors*, and Maſters of the Sword, and thereby ſnatched the Lawrels of Victory from the *Presbyterian* Brows, who had, together with them, born the heat and burthen of the Day, and ſweat ſo hard in the *Common Cauſe*; and that they had now every where cruſhed their fair hopes of Erecting their rigorous *Diſcipline* in the Eſtabliſhment of a National Church-Government, according to the *Geneva* and *Scottiſh* Model, ſo that the Sneaking *Presbyterians* were even forced to content themſelves with a bare *Toleration*, being every hour affronted by the Huffing *Independents*, and every moment menaced with Ruine, by taking away the burthen of Tithes, the maintenance of their Cauſe and Miniſters; they began to conſult which way to retrieve themſelves from thoſe deſperate Events, which ſeemed, like black Clouds, to hang over their Heads, ready to diſcharge themſelves and all their Storms and Thunder upon them. And ſeeing no way more probable, than to follow the Example of their *Dear Brethren* of *Scotland*, they caſt their thoughts upon a *Treaty* with the *King*, then in Exile; but that this was out of pure kindneſs to themſelves, and not in the leaſt to the *King* or his Intereſt, it is moſt evident, both becauſe they utterly refuſed therein to joyn with the Loyal Party, and that even Mr. *Love* himſelf, with his lateſt Breath upon the Scaffold, aſſures us,

That

That it was true, he did oppoſe in his Place and Calling, the Forces and Tyranny of the late King; and, were he alive again, ſaith he, *and ſhould I live longer, (the Cauſe being as then it was) I ſhould oppoſe him longer.*

The Crafty *Independents*, whoſe jealouſie of the *Preſbyterian* Intereſt and Power made fearful of them, and thoſe fears vigilant, having their Spies, Emiſſaries, Informers, and Intelligencers in every Corner, even in the Kings Court, during his Exile, quickly got the ſcent of this *Preſbyterian Intrigue*; and *Love*, as a Principal Man of the Presbyterian Faction, being moſt zealous and forward, and, by reaſon of his precipitate boiling temper of Spirit, leſs circumſpect and cautious, was immediately Diſcovered, Apprehended, Tryed, Convicted, and Condemned for this *High Treaſon* againſt the *State*.

But he being the *Minion* of the *Presbyterians*, and they conſidering, what a wound of Infamy it would give to their, even expiring, Reputation thorow the whole Nation, if he ſhould die for this Crime of ſuppoſed *Loyalty*, therefore extraordinary Interceſſions and Applications were made to the *Commons*, then Styled *The Supreme Authority of the Nation*, for his Deliverance; all his faithful Zeal and memorable Services in former Times were recounted, and the danger of diſobliging and loſing the *Preſbyterian* Intereſt and Kindneſs; and how hazardous it might be to the Common-wealth, not yet well ſetled, if, by ſuch ſeverities, the *Presbyterians* ſhould be provoked to joyn with the *Malignant Party*, were among other Sollicitations repreſented and inſinuated to the *Grandees* of the *Independent* Party. But this *Supreme Authority of the Nation* having now ſtruck their Top-ſail to *Cromwel*, who wore the Flag of Soveraignty, even over this goodly *Supreme Authority*, till ſuch time as they had ſent a diſpatch to their Great *Dictator Oliver*, to conſult his Soveraign Will, and to know from his Lips, upon which all Mens Deſtinies now depended, their *Supremeſhips* at *Weſtminſter* durſt not condeſcend to give *Love* a Pardon for his Life, only Execution was reſpited for ſome little time.

Cromwel, being then abſent in *Scotland*, upon the Receipt of this Account from the *Slaves*, whom he was pleaſed to

call his *Maſters*, having taken the matter into his grave Deliberation, returns his Anſwer in a private Letter to one of his Confidents, but I cannot poſitively charge my Memory, whether *Scot* or *Martin*; and therein, according to his Politicks, conſidering, that at preſent his hands were full, and fearing, leſt the *Engliſh Presbyterians* ſhould riſe at his back, and joyn with the *Scottiſh Kirk*-Party, with whom he was now ingaged, he graciouſly Condeſcends, that *Love* ſhould be for a conſiderable time Reprieved, and, upon good Security from Him and his Party of their future behaviour, Pardoned.

Now by what Impulſe or Direction God only knows, two or three *Gentlemen*, who had formerly been of the *Kings* Army, happening to travel the *Northern* Road, and meeting the *Poſt*, who, among others, was charged with this Letter, and inquiring of him, Whether he had; any *Scotch Letters*, to which he innocently replyed, He had; a Curioſity ſeized their Imagination to peep into the Secrets of the *Uſurping Powers*; and therefore taking the *Poſt* aſide out of the High Road, into a convenient place, and opening his *Male*, they took out and opened the *Scottiſh* Pacquet, and, among others, this of *Cromwels*, which carried a Warrant for a Reprieve for *Love*; upon the reading of which, one of them immediately cried out, *Oh! that is the Rogue, that ruin'd us, by breaking off the Treaty at Uxbridge*; and thereupon putting that Letter in his pocket, they reſtored the reſt to the *Poſt*, telling him, there were his Letters again, and immediately mounting, and putting Spurs to their Horſes, they purſued their intended Journey.

The Pacquet arriving at *London*, and ſeveral Letters from *Cromwel* to diverſe Perſons, without one ſingle Syllable concerning *Love*, the Party took it for granted, that this Silence was intended as an abſolute Denial: And therefore, not daring to draw upon themſelves the high diſpleaſure of *Cromwel*, either by a ſecond Importunity to ſave him, or by a Delay of Execution, in a few days after the Warrant for his diſpatch into the other World was ſigned, and he, who had been inſtrumental in bringing ſo many Noble Heads, and even the *Kings*, to that Infamous and Untimely Death, had himſelf the Honour of the *Axe*, and to

have

have the blood of ſo many Innocents, as was ſhed by his Party, avenged upon himſelf, according to his Sanguinary and Prophetick Divinity.

But, while my Pen runs in this full Carreer againſt theſe Cruel and Sanguinary *Principles*, it is more than probable, that the uſual Courteſie of the *Faction* will beſtow the Title of a bloudy-minded *Perſecutor* upon me; and that the intent of this Expoſure of their Poſitions is deſigned purpoſely to Expoſe their Perſons to the Hatred and ſevereſt Puniſhments of the Laws and Government. Now though, while I keep my ſelf to the ſtricteſt Rules of Truth, I ſhould little value the worſt of their Imputations, yet conſidering, that they are wont to extend their Calumnies from ſingle Perſons to the whole *Order* of our *Church*, I have too much Duty and Tenderneſs, for the Reputation of that Glorious and truly *Apoſtolical* Church, whereof I eſteem it my greateſt Honour to be one of her meaneſt Servants, to ſuffer the leaſt Spot, through my willing default, to ſully her Beauteous Face: I muſt therefore make my moſt Solemn *Proteſtation*, that, as I have not the leaſt Animoſity to any Mans Perſon, ſo I have not the leaſt Inclination that prompts me to any kind of Cruelty; nay, it is my perfect abhorrence of Blood and Cruelty, that compels me for the Satisfaction of the Importunities of my own Conſcience, to uſe my utmoſt Induſtry to prevent the effuſion of Humane Blood. It is to prevent the growth of theſe Fatal *Principles*, which, if not in time ſuppreſſed and ſubdued, threaten again to break out among us, and open the Veins of theſe Miſerable *Nations*: It is becauſe I would with my utmoſt Power hinder theſe deluded people, who become diſtracted with the Raving Poiſon of ſuch Divinity, either from Executing their Bloody Treaſons and Malice upon others, or running themſelves to Execution upon the Sword of *Juſtice*. It is againſt the Immortal miſchief of the *Principles*, and not the Mortal Lives of the deluded *Profeſſors* of them, that I level all my blows; and that our Grand-Children may learn Wiſdom from our harms and dangers; and know how to diſtinguiſh by their Fruits the *Cedar* Government of *Monarchy*, from the Bramble Government of Faction and *Uſurpation*; that

they may know the true difference between the truly *Apoſtolical*, Loyal, and Obedient Church of *England*, and thoſe falſe Schiſmaticks, who call themſelves *True Proteſtants*, but are of the *Synagogue of Satan*: That they may underſtand the difference betwixt thoſe Glorious Stars, the Angels of the Churches, the *Biſhops*, which are for ever fixed in the powerful Right-hand of the Son of God, and thoſe New Lights, unfixed Meteors, wandring Stars, for whom, St. *Jude* tells us, *is reſerved the blackneſs of darkneſs for ever.*

Revel. Chap. 2. ver. 9.

St. Jude. ver. 13.

As for Exaſperating the Government againſt them, as it is not my deſign, and, that I addreſs my whole diſcourſe by way of *Caution* to private Perſons; ſo they ought rather to accuſe their own Actions and not my Words, if the *Government* be juſtly Exaſperated againſt them. And indeed, as it would be a very fooliſh Preſumption in me, to pretend to advice, ſo it would be a ſuperfluous Vanity to go about to exaſperate the Government, ſince it is moſt certain the Government knows them ſufficiently already, and if the Tongues and Pens of all mankind were for ever ſilenced, their own Mouths, Pens, Words and Actions never ceaſe to make *Proclamations* againſt themſelves, and to provoke the Government, even at no leſs Peril, than not only its *Well-being*, but its very *Being*, to take ſuch Effectual Care of them, as to ſecure the *Monarch* and *Monarchy*, the Church and Apoſtolical *Hierarchy*, from the continual Attempts of their unwearied Practices both ſecret and open againſt them. And it is a Duty, which not only the Government owes it ſelf by the moſt Primitive and Innate Law of *Self-Preſervation*, but it is bound by all the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, and by all the Obligations, both Divine and Humane, by the ſtrongeſt Reaſons of Wiſdom and Intereſt, to protect and defend the Loyal, Dutiful, Peaceable, and Obedient Subjects, againſt the wicked Deſigns of the Seditious, Unruly, and Rebellious. And, as every Good man may modeſtly challenge this Protection from the *Government*, ſo ought every Honeſt Man heartily to lend his beſt aſſiſtance towards the Support of that Power, from which he expects Protection, by detecting the Deſigns,

ſigns, expoſing the Artifices, and weakning the Force of its implacable Enemies, and ſuch our *Separatiſts* have proved themſelves ſufficiently to be, had there been no other Pens, but their own, imployed againſt them.

And becauſe the whole World, to whoſe hands theſe *Papers* ſhall come, ſhall witneſs for me, that I have Treated them at a far more temperate Rate, than theſe Brethren in Iniquity have treated each other in their mutual Quarrels, in their Cenſures, and expoſing each others deſtructive Principles: And that, if they find themſelves pierced through the very heart of their *Reputation*, they may, with the *Eagle* in the *Fable*, perceive, that the Arrow, from which they received their Mortal wound, is feathered from their own Wings; I will preſent the *Reader* with a *Dialogue*, taken out of their own Writings, and in their own proper *Language*, which poſſibly may not be indivertive, and, I hope, not unuſeful or unſerviceable to the deſign of Expoſing, and, if poſſible, Exploding theſe Wicked, Turbulent, and Factious Opinions out of the Minds of Mankind.

And that it may be known which are their Words, and what is only inſerted to reduce it into the form of a Familiar diſcourſe, thoſe Expreſſions, which ſerve only to tack it together, are printed in *Italick*, the other in the ordinary *Roman Letter*.

Independent. *Here's a ſtir indeed! What a buſtle do theſe Presbyterians make for Reformation of Church-Government? We muſt put in* An Humble Supplication to the King and Parliament, in oppoſition to theſe Motions of the Presbyterians for a Reformation. (*Independents Petition, Printed at Amſterdam.* 1641.)

Presbyterian. *And what art thou?*

Independent. *A poor Suppliant of the Congregational way, who am come, with ſome others of our Church, to preſent our Humble Petition to the King and Parliament, for ſome Liberty and Indulgence to be ſhewed to the Tender Conſciences of our Gathered Churches.*

Presbyt. *What? An Independent! A Browniſt, a Separatiſt, I warrant you; None elſe would oppoſe this glorious Reformation and Endeavour to ſet Chriſt upon his Throne.*

Indep. *Good Sir! be not ſcandalized at the Name or the Thing.* We are for the purity of the Goſpel, according to the Pattern in the Mount.

Presbyt. *Oh! You are one of* that new-born Baſtard *Sect* of Independency, which is nothing but a Confounding *Ataxy*, Rent upon Rent, and a Schiſme of Schiſmes, until all Church Community be torn into Atomes; every three Men (nay every three Women, among you) diſſociating themſelves into an ἰδιοθελησκεία, a Will-Worſhip of their own deviſing, which fondly and madly you call a Church. But where, I pray, and in what corner of the world, hath this aëry *Independency* been aſleep until theſe days? *Quo conſule?* Under what Kings Reign was it born? Where may I hear, that it hath a being? Where may I read, (below the World in the Moon) that ever it had a being? I will be bold to brand it with the name of a new-minted Seminary for all Self-Pride, Hereſie, Schiſme, Sedition, and for all Libertiniſme: An Outſide ſeeming Saintſhip, a Peſtilence to all Government, except a Traiterous and clouted Anarchy. (Sir *Edward Deerings Speeches, Page* 82. *Sect.* 2.)

Indep. *I perceive, Sir, your Worſhip is a member of the moſt Honourable Houſe of Commons, and, I hope, you will entertain a better Opinion of your weak Brethren, whoſe Tender Conſciences cannot come up to all your Heights.*

Presbyt. *Never, Never, I aſſure you. Independency!* Why it is a *Genus Generaliſſimum* of all Errors, Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and Schiſmes; compounded of, firſt, a *Jew*, arrogating to be, with them, the peculiar People of God: Secondly, *Chriſtian*, in acknowledging the *Scriptures*, ſome of them at leaſt, tho' *Phariſees* themſelves, and *Publicaning* all the World, whereas True Religion is like *Jacobs* Ladder, *Stat pede in terris, caput inter nubila condit.* Thirdly, *Turk*, ſubmitting all to the Fate and Power of the Sword, Religion, Laws, and Liberty, that Idol of the People. (*Walkers Hiſtory of Independency, at the beginning.*)

Independ. *Good your Worſhip, what ever you think of us, be pleaſed according to the truſt repoſed in you, as one of our* Repreſentatives, *to deliver our Petition to the Houſe, where I hope we have many Friends; you know there hath paſſed a*

Vote

Vote of the Commons of England *for it, and I hope you have too much Honour for that Body to deny that Requeſt.*

Presbyt. I know indeed very well, that your Schiſmatical Party hath been ſo Clamorous with Petitions, that a Vote was paſſed in your Favour, That it is the undoubted Right of Subjects to Petition, and afterwards to acquieſce in the Wiſdom and Juſtice of the two Houſes. (*Hiſt. of Indep.*)

Indep. *Upon the Foundation of that undoubted Right it is, that we Addreſs our ſelves to that Honourable Aſſembly. And you will ſee by the contents of our Petition, that it is time for us to ſtir, and that we have reaſon to complain.* For as to the Motions of the *Presbyterians* for Reformation in Church Government, in the whole, *Firſt*, there is much Self-ſeeking; for to what end is it motioned, to have Pariſh-Miniſters raiſed up to an equal Height (as it were) of Power, and Authority with the Biſhops, but that They and the Biſhops together, keeping from the people their Rights and Liberties in the Goſpel, may equally Lord it, and do what they pleaſe without control? But our hope is, that the Parliament, being Men in whom the Lord hath put Wiſdom and Underſtanding, will for their Brethren and Companions ſake, yea, and for their own Souls ſakes too, prudently foreſee the Evil, and prevent the Motion, and not put Authority into their hands, who will be, if they have it, as great Perſecutors of the Saints, as the *Prelates* formerly have been, and ſo inſtead of one Lordly Domineering *Biſhop* in a *Dioceſs*, we ſhall then have one in every Pariſh, and in ſome more, to oppreſs and ſuppreſs all ſuch as walk up to their Light more Cloſely and Conſcionably in all Gods ways; and what we ſpeak, we ſpeak no more than what we have had woful Experience of, and can make good by Proof. But in the next place, we cannot but take notice, of their mixing of Heaven and Earth together, motioning for a Diſcipline which is a very *Hotch-Potch*, a *Gallimaufrey* compounded of Epiſcopacy, Presbytery, and Popery, thinking in likelyhood to pleaſe all ſides, by framing, like the *Samaritans*, a Worſhip of Sundry Religions: But the Lord ſees their Halting, and will one day reward them

for it in their own boſoms, as they have deſerved; and for theſe Reaſons, we deſire the removing of this deviſed Liturgy and Hierarchy, and that *Chriſts* true Miniſtry, Worſhip, and Government may be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament (*Petition of the Independents, ſupra citat.*)

Presbyt. But when you have Petitioned, you do not Acquieſce in the Wiſdom and Juſtice of the two Houſes, who would have you quietly to attend the intended Reformation, which they hope to perfect ere long by thoſe Arms, which they have raiſed to reſcue the King from the Hands of his Evil Councellors, and bring him back to his Great Council the Parliament.

Indep. *Alas! Alas! What do you tell us of Acquieſcing? What Favour can tender Conſciences expect from Rigid Presbyterians, who are reſolved to ſet up their Diſcipline above all Power, and to enſlave both King and People.*

Presbyt. *What can they expect but a Kingdom of Righteouſneſs, and that the King ſhould be made the moſt Glorious King in Chriſtendome, as his Parliament hath promiſed him: That the Parliament ſhould injoy their Priviledges, the People their Liberties, and be freed from Monopolies, Ship-money, and the Antichriſtian Yoke of Prelacy: and a National Church-Government according to the Word of God, and the Solemn League and Covenant be eſtabliſhed.*

Indep. *Ah Sir.! From thence ariſe all our Fears: Which are notably confirmed from former Experiences, wherever Presbytery hath obtained Power.* For as to the King, he muſt never flatter himſelf with any hopes from the *Presbyterians*: Their Government carries ſuch a ſpecial Enmity againſt Monarchy, * That whoſoever will Found the one, muſt raſe the Fundamentals of the other: For this little upſtart Hierarchy can be little acknowledged, where Kingly Power is. This Epidemical Peſt of *Scotland* was baptized by their Charity into a National Form in the Minority of King *James*, when the great Lords and Clergy, ruling all, divided Stakes, ſo that when he came at age, and thought to graſp a *Scepter*, he found a *Manacle*, for it had conſumed the Monarchie to a *Skeleton*; the unlimited Power of the Convention of Eſtates, and General Aſſembly eſpecially, like the Rod of *Aaron*, was

* *A ſhrewd Maxim from the Pen of one, who knew them intimately in cute.*

was ſuch a budding Evil, that it devoured the Rod of *Moſes*. For, *where they prevail*, they will allow the *King* nothing but a Name without Subſtance; the Biſhops neither Name nor Subſtance; *And as for the People, they muſt expect no more favour from them than the Prince*: For they leave the Lords, and Gentry, nothing but Slavery; and the Commons, Tyranny under the meaneſt of their fellow-Subjects. *And to ſay truth, Solomon's* great Vanity is a Prime Myſtery of *Presbyterian* Government, Servants on horſeback, and Princes on foot, *for they aſſert*, That Magiſtrates of what Degrees or Rank ſoever, ought to uſe the Sword as they adviſe or command; and compel others to ſubmit to the Decree of the General Aſſembly. And with what furious violence did they preſs their Covenant, ſequeſtring all that refuſed to take it? So that they tread down all by a Moarnival or Two of Tyrants, no leſs Monſtrous perhaps for Pride than Ignorance in every Parochial Inquiſition. And *ſhould their Government be eſtabliſhed in England*, for 24 Dioceſſes, we ſhould have 1000 Presbyteries, beſides the Torture of Claſſes, Provincial Juntos, Synods, Aſſemblies. And how many of the Clergy muſt be called off from their Charges, to take upon their ſhoulders the Weight of Government, which was their only Argument againſt the Biſhops? And certainly, Tyranny is more ſupportable in a few than many hands; and there is nothing to be expected but a fiery Tryal, where the Furnace of Diſcipline is ſo exceſſively heated, as it is by the *Presbyterians*; there being in one Ordinance of theirs about the Lord Supper, no leſs than Eighty ſins named, excluding the Perſons accuſed of any one of them from it, all which are left to the Malice of their Elders to accuſe, as they did *Suſanna*. So that a Citizen ſhall not dare to diſpoſe of his Eſtate; wear good Apparrel; get ten, twenty, or thirty *per Cent.* by Lawful ways of Trade, without the leave of the Elders. And then for the Men of the Long Robe, what will become of them? For all matters of Controverſie will come before the *Conſiſtory*. And after all this, Lay-Elderſhip is a meer decoy, the Preaching *Presbyters* will do all, and the other muſt ſtand or fall according to his Report at

the General Assembly. (*The Case of the Kingdom Stated by* M. N. *Shewing the several Interests, Printed*, 1647.

* *Marchemont Needham.*

Presbyt. *Kings and Parliaments have found a Notable Advocate of you, I have heard your Party speak other Language, even the most Wicked Blasphemies against this Reforming Glorious Parliament: And to what purpose are your Fawning Applications to them, whose Authority you do not own? Pray do but hear this Paper read*, Upon sight and consideration of the Votes of Parliament, Dated *Die Veneris*, 20 *Februarii*, 1645, and upon the Ordinance: Dated *Sabbati* 14 *Martii* 1645. Intituled, an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament for keeping of Scandalous Persons from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the enabling of Congregations for the choice of Elders, and supplying defects in former Ordinances, and Directions of Parliament, concerning Church-Government. Resolved by Tender Conscience, with the consent of Gods Holy Word and Spirit assembled together, That the Word of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, without the Word of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, is no warrant for Tender Conscience to joyn with ungodly Parishes, in the choice of Spiritual Elders to Govern Gods Spiritual House.

Resolved, *&c.* That the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament have the Civil Government over the Bodies and Estates in * Civil things, but the Lord Jesus in Spiritual.

* *Observe this Reservation, for in* ordine ad Spiritualia, *draws all things of civil nature to their Jurisdiction.*

Resolved, *&c.* That the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and the Parish Churches and Chappels therein, have not yet been proved to tender Conscience to be Churches of Christ: Nor have the Directions that passed both Houses, bearing Date, 19 *August.* 1645. Nor the supplying Ordinance since, nor hath any thing of that nature been proved to be according to the Word of God, and that Tender Conscience never read of *Classes's*, nor Parochial Congregations in the *Bible.*

Resolved, *&c.* That therefore such Election of Parochial Congregational Elders, the Warning thereof, and the Sermon preparatory is, in the Judgment of tender Conscience, a taking Gods Name in vain.

Resol-

Reſolved, *&c.* That the Major part of the Pariſhes, being Ungodly, will chuſe Ungodly Elders; and that not all ſuch, as have taken the National Covenant, are fit to chuſe Godly Elders; that many perſons under Age, and Servants without Families, are more Godly than their Parents and Maſters that keep Families, and in Chriſts Church not to be excepted againſt in the Choice of Church-Officers, ſeeing that all Saints, both *Jews and Gentiles, Bond and Free,* are all one in *Chriſt, Gal. Chap. 3. ver. 28. And that his Saints are not to have the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, the Lord of Glory, in reſpect of Perſons.*

Reſolved, *&c.* That the *Lord Mayor*, and Cities Preſidents, or any Preſidents which tend, or have tended to the taking away or obſtruction of the Settlement or Eſtabliſhment of the Antient bounds of Liberty of Conſcience, cannot amount in the leaſt to be any binding Preſident to Tender Conſcience.

Finally, It is Reſolved, *&c.* That the Lord of Tender Conſcience is Lord of all Lords and Laws, and never Ordained to bring in any thing into his Worſhip, but that which Firſt was by his own Inſtitution; and that therefore all Acts, Ordinances, Votes, Proteſtations, Declarations, *&c.* made, or which hereafter, without the Word of God, ſhall be made by any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall be of no Force againſt Tender Conſcience, in the Worſhip of God; and that though ſuch Humane Acts, Ordinances, *&c.* take hold only of all thoſe Men that have the Mark of the Beaſt, but that Tender Conſcience, and the Friends thereof, ſhall be Exempted there-from.

May 1. 1646. Ordered to be Printed,

Chriſtian Meekneſs

Clerk to Tender Conſcience.

[*Several Votes of Tender Conſcience, Printed,* July 28. 1646.] *Pray, do you own this Paper, good Mr.* Independent?

Indep. *Why truely, Sir, I do own it, and ſince you are ſo hot upon inſlaving of poor Tender Conſciences,* I am to deal plainly with you, and to tell you, that the Manner of a true, pure, and perfect Reformation is hidden from your Eyes; You *Presbyterians* are Friends to the Midnight of *Popery*, your *Directory* is the Golden Calf of your own Invention,

your Two Children are Power and Maintenance : The Angel of the Lord hath Smitten you with Blindneſs, as he did the *Sodomites*, elſe you would have found the Door of the Viſible Church: Your Way is a perſecuting Way: Your Blind Guides would all be Controllers; You are like your Fore-Fathers, the Blood-Thirſty Biſhops; you Pollute, Prophane, and Trample under Foot *Chriſts* precious Truths; you derive your Ordination from the Antichriſtian Prelates, and are the *Second Beaſt*, Rev. Chap. 13. ver. 2. *What can be ſaid bad enough* of this Sect of the Blaſphemous, Perſecuting, Treacherous *Presbyterians*, Popiſh *Presbyterians*, Prophane *Presbyterians*? 'Tis you that, wherever you come, are guilty of all Diviſions in Towns, Cities, Families; *you, even you, Presbyterian* Praters, all whoſe Ways are Impure, Imperfect, and Impious. *Come on, Sir*, I'll ſhew you your Picture here in a Broad-ſide; Do you ſee that Winged Heart mounting towards Heaven? that is Tender Conſcience; look there, on the Right hand ſtands the *Pope* with the Latin Maſs-book in one of his hands, and in the other a Sword to wound Tender Conſcience; on the left hand ſtands a *Prelate* in the ſame Poſture, holding in his left hand The Liturgie; and in the middle, d'ye mark! there ſtands your Dapper *Sir Jack Presbyter* in his Cloak, in one hand a Dagger, with which he attempts to Wound the Winged Heart, and in his other hand the *Directory*; Look ye, all theſe three are linked together in one Chain, to ſhew, that they have all the ſame Deſign, but *Presbyter* is the Worſt of the Three, for, if you obſerve, you will ſee he tramples upon a Crown Imperial, which he hath gotten under his Feet; but pray mark, *the Curſt Cow hath the ſhorteſt Horns*, your *Presbyters*'s Dagger is too ſhort, and how good ſoever his Will may be, here's a Weight with a Chain faſtened to his Bloody Dagger-hand, ſo that he is not able to reach the Flying Heart, but that, by the Help of her Wings, Tender Conſcience mounts out of his, and the reach of all her Enemies, and

The more

You wound my dear and precious Tender Heart;
Your Seared ones ſhall feel the grievous Smart.
All Three to injure me as Mortal Foe;
Encreaſeth your Eternal Wo, Wo, Wo. Rev. 8. 13.

(*Dicta-*

(*Dictated thoughts upon the* Presbyterians *late Petitions, for Complete and Universal Authority in Divine Ordinances, to be conferred upon them by Humane Authority.* Printed, *April.* 14. 1646.

Presbyt. *Most certainly, by his Foming at the mouth, the Man is distracted, and perfectly Raves; but, Sir, I shall give your Courage a Cooling Julep, by informing the House concerning you.*

Indep. *What do you tell us of the House, or the Parliament?* I must tell you, that opposing of *Independency* is a perfect *Theomachy*, a plain Fighting against God. We are under the Government of *Christ* alone: No Power on Earth, or Earthly Lawgivers, may, can, orought to give Laws for the Government of the Church. Neither Kings, nor Parliaments, nor Synods, have Authority to prescribe Laws or Rules for Church Government, to make Coactive Laws to bind Conscience to Conformity, or to inflict Mulcts or Penalties for contempt or disobedience. For the Members of Parliament are chosen but by a Secular Rout, by the Generality and Riff-Raff of the World, Papists, Atheists, Drunkards, and Swearers. And the Parliament's Claiming this Power is seven times more undermining and destructive of their Power, Honor, Peace, and Safety; it is claiming the incommunicable Prerogative, and Regalities of Heaven; an attempt to make themselves equal with God. *Truth Triumphing over Falshood*, &c. *by* W. Pryn, *Printed by the Order of the House of Commons*, June, 2. 1644, *In the Epistle Dedicatory to the Parliament.*

Presbyt. *You give the Parliament good incouragement to favour you; But I doubt not, but they, and all honest Men, are sufficiently sensible of, and acquainted with, your Temper and Inclinations, but lest they should not, I shall take the Liberty to inform Them and the Whole Nation, That if* Independent *Government be suffered at this insolent rate*, in time it cannot but overthrow all other Sorts of Ecclesiastical Government, and Civil too by the same Principles; for in reality it destroys all Civil Power, Magistracy, Corporations, Parliaments, Courts of Justice; for what ever Meekness they may pretend, *Independency* is such a Turbulent, Dangerous, Unquiet, Schismatical Government, as will un-King, un-

Parliament, un-Church a Nation, nay un-Nation them. For it makes each ſeveral gathered Congregation, an abſolute Monarchy, Church, Republick, and Nation within it ſelf. It is a Model of Government more Rigid, Uncharitable, Unſociable, Papal, Tyrannical, Anti-Monarchical, Anti-Synodical, Anti-Parliamentary, than any Government whatſoever. *A full Reply to certain brief Obſervations, and Anti-Queries upon* Pryn's 12 *Queries*, Printed, *Oct.* 19. 1644.

Indep. *Unking, and Anti-Monarchical, Very fine! your Worſhip forgets the Proverb. Nay for that commend me to you* Presbyterians; *You are for a King that ſhall be no King, a King of Clouts. Have not you taught us,* That Parliaments are the Supreme Power, and that Kings are Subordinate to them? That a King hath no Power to impoſe Taxes; to give Portions to his Children? That he cannot diſplace a Judge? That he is bound to confirm what is concluded by the States? That he is Obliged not to depart from the Parliament? That they may Summon him to Appear before them; Queſtion him, Reſtrain him, Allow him only a Penſion to ſupport him; Order his Houſe, Appoint him Counſellors, Appoint him Governors; Separate his Queen from him; Void his laſt Will; Seize his Revenues; Keep his Forts; Raiſe Arms againſt him; Bring in Foreigners; Baniſh him; Make Peace and Wars; Force him to reſign his Right to the Crown; Force him to reſign his Crown; Determine the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown; Chuſe their own Judges; Reſcind the Kings Acts; Impriſon him, put out his Eyes, ſtrangle him; Abſolve his Subjects from their Allegiance; Depoſe him; Diſinherit him; Remove him at the Peoples pleaſure; Elect another, Chriſtian or Infidel? (Pryn's *Soveraign Power of Parliaments; Ordered to be printed by the Committee for Printing, and Licenſed by* John White, *Printed for* Michael Sparke, Jun. *June* 23. 1643.)

Presbyt. *You are very Briſque in Charging us with what, if it be a Crime, you are as guilty of, as We:* For *Independency*, if admitted, ruines not only Monarchy, but even our Soveraign Power of Parliaments, and caſſates all Obedience. For you make Laws for your ſelves, which your

your Congregations muſt ſubmit to, or be Excommunicated and delivered up to the Devil; you affirm, That every particular Congregation is a Complete, Intire, Abſolute, Spiritual Republick, Corporation, Body, and City of God, of it ſelf, and of abſolute Authority within it ſelf, ſubject to no other Juriſdiction, than that of Chriſt, and his Word, and Spirit; and not under any Congregation, Synod, or National Church, or humane Power whatſoever; and that the Parliament cannot make Canons or Rules to bind it, nor perſcribe any Church-Government or Diſcipline to it: And in ſhort, Independency is flat Popery, holding themſelves, as the Pope doth, ſubject and accountable to none but Chriſt, as you may ſee in *Alv. Pelag. de planctu Eccleſiæ, lib.* 1. *Art.* 6. 13. 31. 34, 35. 37. And every *Independent* Miniſter is a perfect Pope. (Pryns *Truth triumphing over Falſhood, ſupra citat.*) Nay, one of your Miniſters in the Summer Iſlands, one *White*, was openly pronounced, in the preſence of God and the whole Congregation, to be Supreme Head of that Church next under Chriſt, and none above him. *And your manner of entring into your Congregational way ſhews your true Temper*; for after Confeſſion of Sins, the Proſelytes are admitted and received, and enter into Church-Covenant to ſtand to and maintain their Church and Diſcipline, Orders, Governors, and Government, to the uttermoſt of their Power and Abilities, and to ſtrive therein, even unto Blood. (*Letter from* Summer Iſlands *from one* Richard Beak, *who at* 74 *years of age was impriſoned* 13 *Months, for oppoſing this* White *and his Independent Congregation.*) But I hope the *Parliament will ſerve you*, as they did your buſie Socinian Teacher *Goodwin, and ſtop all your Mouths with a ſilencing Ordinance.*

Indep. *They ſerved that precious man ſo indeed, for his Book called* Theomachia, *An excellent recompence for his kindneſs to them*, which was, if any fault, *Error Amoris*, not *Amor Erroris* in him, and deſigned to prevent their daſhing againſt this Stone, which will one day break all Power in pieces, (*Truth Triumphing*, &c.) *But never trouble your ſelves, for we do not*, with your Parliament Ordinances, which are but Parliament Toyes, (*Martins Eccho*) the People

never truſted the Parliament with Church Government, which they themſelves have not, and therefore cannot give it: For what cannot be given, cannot be received; but had you the Arch-Biſhops Power, I find you would exceed him in Cruelty of Perſecution, you are the Parliaments *Evil Genius*, egging and inciting them to Acts of Tyranny againſt an Innocent People, and had you Command, you would Cenſure, Fine, Pillory, Impriſon, Baniſh, and differ little from *Bonner* and *Gardiner* in Queen *Maryes* Days; (*A help to underſtand Mr.* Pryn) for you are neither better nor worſe than a company of Prophane Apoſtates, Popiſh, Jeſuitical Incendiaries, Haters of Gods People; and while we are fighting and hazarding our deareſt Lives for the Subjects Liberty, as Mr. *Lilburn* too truly ſaid of you, we are in danger of being brought into *Egyptian* Bondage, in this and other particulars by the Black-coat *Presbyterians*, who I am affraid will prove more Cruel Task-maſters, than their dear Brethren the Biſhops. For what *I pray* is the inhanſing and ingroſſing of Interpretations, Preachings, and Diſcipline into the *Presbyterians* Hands, but a meer Monopoly of the Spirit, and worſe than the Monopoly of Sope. The Ordinance, That no Unordained Perſons Preach, is a Patent of the Spirit, to get the whole Trade into their own Hands, to rob the People with what Ware and Price they pleaſe, to look in their Faces and pick their Pockets. (*A* Freſh *Diſcovery of ſome prodigious new wandring Blazing Stars and Fire-brands, Styling themſelves New Lights, by* W. Pryn, 1645.)

Presbyt. *Nay, you and your un-ordained Independent Preachers, have made brave work in the Pulpit: It would make ones Hair ſtand an end, to hear what hath been taught by Ignorant, Impudent* Mechanicks; *and what Damnable Blaſphemies and Hereſies have been broached by them among the People, for Soul-ſaving Truths: Such as theſe.* That *Chriſts* Righteouſneſs is a beggarly Righteouſneſs; That *Chriſt's* Blood did not purchaſe Heaven for any Man; That *Chriſt* ſhed his Blood for Kine and Horſes, as well as for Men; That the Devils and Souls of Men are Mortal, and none but God Immortal; That we are only to believe the Scriptures;

as

as they are agreeable to Senſe and Reaſon; That the Scriptures are uncertain, inſufficient, and not an Infallible Rule of Faith; That the Scriptures cannot be ſaid to be the Word of God, Chriſt only being ſo; That the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament do not bind Chriſtians under the New; That Adultery and Drunkenneſs are not Sins; That Prayer in Families is unlawful; That *Chriſt*'s Sufferings were only for our Example, not to purchaſe Heaven for us; That no Man was caſt into Hell for Sin, but only becauſe God would have it ſo; That *Chriſt* will deſtroy all Government, Lawful, and Unlawful; That God was never diſpleaſed with Men for Sin; if he were, it were changeableneſs in God; That the Church and Miniſtry of *England* are *Antichriſtian*; That Toleration of *Jews*, *Turks*, *Pagans*, in all Nations is the Will of God; That there is no Reſurrection; That if a Womans Husband was ſleeping, or abſent, ſhe may lawfully lye with another Man, becauſe ſleep is Death; That *John Baptiſt*'s Doctrine of Repentance was a Leathern Doctrine; That *Adam*'s Sin deſerved not Hell; That all the Heaven there is, is here on Earth; That Univerſities are of the Devil, and Humane Learning of the Fleſh; That many ſhall be Saved, that were never Elected; That They are the great *Anti-Chriſt*, who deny the general Redemption of the whole Creation; That no Man had any thing to do to hinder it, if any Perſon ſhould Worſhip the Sun or the Moon; That the Doctrine of Repentance is a Soul-depraving Doctrine; That the Lords Day ought not to be kept, all dayes being alike under the Goſpel; That Sanctification is but a Dunghill-dirty Qualification; That there is no Church, no Ordinances, nor Miniſters in the World; That it is unlawful to teach Children to Pray; That Infants ſhall not riſe again, becauſe they were not capable of knowing God, and ſo not of enjoying God. (*A Diſcovery of dangerous Hereſies taught by Mechanicks. Printed* April 26, 1647.) And in ſhort, Independency is a Seminary of Schiſmes, and dangerous Diviſions in the Church and State; a Flood-gate to let in all Hereſies, Errors, Sects, Libertiniſme, and even the Mahometan Doctrine. (*Twelve Queries about Church-Govern-*

ment againſt the Independents, *by* W. Pryn.

Indep. *Well, Well! You may talk what you pleaſe of Hereſies, Errors, Sects, and Schiſmes, but this I am aſſured of,* That all the Plagues of *Egypt* were but a Flea-biting to what one *Presbyterial* Church would be, the *Pope* himſelf is as truly Chriſtian as our *Presbyterie*; they can never be Good to others, who are guilty of ſuch Ingratitude to the Biſhops, from whom, formerly they received the Holy Ghoſt, with all their Spiritual Preferments, and were firſt put into a capacity of Lording it, as they do, over the People; whom, like ungracious Children, viperous Vermine, inhumane Cannibals, notwithſtanding their Grace and Favour, they have devoured up and ſhared the Inheritance among them. (*A Sacred Decree*, &c.) *Presbyterial* Government is much more truly ſaid to be Prelatical, than the Epiſcopal; nay both Papal and Epiſcopal Government is better than *Presbyterian*, more Uniform, and have continued many Hundred of Years longer than *Presbytery*, and were long before *Presbytery* was thought of; it was but a Shift at a Pinch, that the Devil made, when neither of the other would ſerve his Turn, and ſo came up *Presbyterie*, but what good the Devil will have of it, I know not, for who knows the Luck of a Lowſie Cur, he may prove a good Dog. (Robinſon's *Anſwer to* Pryns 12 *Queries. And the Arraignment of Perſecution, cited by* Pryn *in his Freſh Diſcovery*, &c.

Presbyt. *Oh, Monſtrous! I now find it true, what my worthy Friend* Dr. Baſtwick *ſaith of you*, viz. A Man may truly ſay of *Independents, Diabolus cacavit illos*, they are the very Nephews of *Heliogabalus*, Terrible Diſſemblers, and Notorious Liars; if they get Authority, down go the Churches, which muſt be made *Tophets* of; down go Gentry and Nobility, the Sons *of Belial*, (*Baſtwick's Letter to Vicars.*) *Remember your* Solemn League and Covenant; *pray, Mr.* Independent, *did not you joyn with us in it, and do you now renounce both that and the Parliament? I muſt tell you*, That to withdraw from this Community, the Parliament, our Repreſentatives, is next Door to withdrawing from, and renouncing God himſelf; nay it is a plain Renouncing of him, and Warring againſt him.

him. The Cauſe is Holy, Juſt, and Good, and God will come in for the Defence of it in his own Time; In taking the Covenant, *you, as well as we*, have Vowed, and we will not Repent, to oppoſe theſe Adverſaries to Death; be they Biſhops, Lawyers, Devils, (He is their Prince) we will oppoſe theſe to Death, nay we Vow and Covenant now to take up Arms againſt King and Queen, both ſetting themſelves againſt God, and the Power of Godlineſs: For though we have taken the Oath of Allegiance, we are only Sworn to Obey the King, while he Obeys God; for what are the Princes and Nobles of the Earth, but God's Scullions to clear up and purge his Veſſels appointed to Honour? *Pray, Good* Mr. Independent, *remember your ſelf and the Covenant.* (*The Covenant Aſſerted*, Printed, *Auguſt* 14. 1643.)

Indep. The Covenant cannot bind us, till one Clauſe viz. *according to the Word of God*, be determined: And having done the utmoſt to fulfil it, *by helping you* to Extirpate Root and Branch, we have done all the Covenant requires, (*The Caſe of the Kingdom ſtated*, &c.) but beſides, it is a meer Snare to catch the People with the Face of Reformation, *never kept, nor intended to be kept by your ſelves that made and impoſed it on others*; for by the Covenant you were Sworn to root out all *Popery*, but yet you have Eſtabliſhed Tithes, the Root of *Popery*, (*Lilburn cited by Pryn, Freſh Diſcovery*, &c.) and in truth it is impoſſible to be kept, and the Makers of it have run into wilfull Perjury, it is a Makebate, Perſecuting, Soul-deſtroying, *England*-dividing, and Undoing Covenant, (*England's Birthright by* J. Lilburn:) And therefore, as *Mr. Goodwin* tells you, to Violate ſuch an Abominable and Accurſed Oath, as this Covenant is, is an Holy and a Bleſſed Perjury, (12 *Cautions by* J. Goodwin, *in oppoſition to* Pryn's 12 *Queries*.

Presbyt. I have often heard ſome of your Party ſay indeed, That *Presbyterian* Government came in with *Knox*, and muſt go out with Knocks, and Mr. *Solicitor* gave us your *Ultima Ratio* for it the other Day in the Houſe, with a Menace, That you muſt have Recourſe to the Power of the Sword, the longeſt Sword take all; ſo that as *Dr.*

Baſtwick ſays, we muſt expect ſhortly, that, according to your frequent threatnings, you will fall to Cutting of the Throats of the *Presbyterians*. (*Hiſt. of Independ.* and Baſtwick's *Poſt-ſcript to* Burton.)

Indep. *Nay, the Truth is,* We are reſolved to have none of your Blew-Cap Reformation. Your Reverend Aſſembly of Divines is ſuch a Quagmire of Croking Frogs, compoſed of Skip-Jack *Presbyters*, a Synodian Whore, a Trayterous Synod, ſo many *Presbyterian* Horſe-Leaches, Blood-thirſty Cattle, Jeſuitical Traytors, that it is a meer Conſiſtory of Devils, guided by the Holy Ghoſt ſent in a Cloak-bag from *Scotland*, that there is no induring of them any longer. (*Arraignment of Perſecution. And* Martin's *Echo, Printed*, 1646.)

Presbyt. *One may now with half an Eye ſee what you would be at. You have got the Sword, and you will Govern with it: Your Inſolencies are plain Evidences of your Intentions.* One of your Prophane Crew, the laſt Sabbath, gave up a Bill at Mr. *Calamie*'s Church in theſe Words, You are deſired to remember in your Prayers the Sick and Weak Eſtate of thoſe Prieſt-Ridden Slaves, that went about to gather Hands to the Petition for Disbanding of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army. (*Real Perſecution, or the Foundation of a general Toleration diſplaid, Collected out of the Libels of Sectaries againſt* Presbyterian Miniſters, *Printed* Feb. 1. 1646.

Indep. Does that make you ſtart? Nay then you ſhall have more, I'le ſhew you the Nativity and Fortune of your Dear Friend Sir *John Presbyter*, and his Son Sir *Simon Synod*. 'Twas e'en the Devil made the Urchin Sir *John Presbyter*, a poor Abject Fugitive newly come out of *Scotland*; but his Life is like neither to be good nor long; he will be brought to ſome untimely End, perhaps Hanging: his Teeth and Nails muſt be pluck'd out, and cut off by an *Independent* Barber, that hereafter he may never Bite or Scratch more; for theſe all hate a Tithe-devouring Prieſt, as they hate the Devil: And for your Synod, it will ſoon be diſſolved, and the Devil chained up.

Reverend

Reverend Aſſembly, up, ariſe, and jogg,
For you have fairely fiſh'd and catch'd a Frogg.
Now you have ſate four years, pray can you tell
A man the way that Chriſt went down to Hell?
In all this time what can a Wiſe Man think,
That you have done ought elſe but eat and drink?
Presbytery climb'd up to th' top of Fame,
Directory and all from Scotland *came,*
O monſtrous Idleneſs! alack and welly,
Our Learned Clergy mind nought but their Belly.

(*Real Perſecution*, &c.) And to be ſhort with you, National Churches under the Goſpel, are of Anti-Chriſts ſetting up. Your preſent Church is a true Whoriſh Mother, and you are her Baſtardly Children; your Worſhip is of the Devil and Anti-Chriſts Invention, Inſtitution, and Setting up, *and to convince you what you* are to truſt to, precious Mr. *Peters*, and ſome others, met with Mr. *Lilburn* the other day at the *Wind-mill* Tavern, where he moved to Petition the Parliament for the preſent Diſſolving of your Aſſembly, and ſending them home to their Country Cures. *And you know, what an influence that Godly Man hath upon the Army and Parliament.* (Freſh diſcovery, &c. *ſupra citat.*)

Presbyt. Hugh Peter! *I know that Turncoat full well: Look you here, and you ſhall ſee him in his Canonical Habit, and by his Scantling you may take a meaſure of your Party, and what Credit or Faith is to be given to Men whoſe Conſciences are made of Weathercock-Metal.* Here's a Letter which Mr. *Pryn* avers he found in the late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie's* Study, written with *Hugh's* own Hand, and thus indorſed by the Arch-Biſhop, *viz.* Mr. *Hugh Peter's* Submiſſion before the Biſhop of *London*, Aug. 17. 1627. *Which ſhews what a profligate, faithleſs Wretch that main Pillar of your Religion is.*

Indep. *Come, I know Mr.* Peters *muſt write Excellently, let's hear it, otherwiſe I ſhall believe you abuſe both him and me.*

Presbyt. *Then thus it was penned.*

Right Reverend Father in God,
and My very Good Lord,

'Being required to make known to your Lordſhip my 'Judgment concerning ſome things propounded at my 'laſt being before your Lordſhip; from which Propoſi- 'tions though I never diſſented, nor know any cauſe why 'I ſhould be ſuſpected; Yet being ready and willing to 'obey your Lordſhip in all things, eſpecially in ſo juſt a 'demand as this, I have conſulted Antiquity, and with 'our Modern *Hooker* and others, and humbly deſire 'your Lordſhip to accept the ſatisfaction following.

'Firſt, For the Church of *England* in General, I bleſs 'God, I am a Member of it; I was Baptized in it; and am 'not only moſt aſſured, it is a True Church, but I am per- 'ſwaded, it is the moſt Glorious and Flouriſhing Church this 'day under the Sun, which I deſire to be truly thankful 'for; and for the Faith, Doctrine, Articles of that Church, 'and the Maintenance of them, I hope the Lord will ena- 'ble me to contend, *tanquam pro Aris & Focis*, yea I truſt 'to lay down my Life, if I were thereunto called.

'Secondly, For the Governors and Government there- 'of, *viz.* The Reverend Fathers the Arch-Biſhops and Bi- 'ſhops, I acknowledge their Office and Juriſdictions, and 'cannot ſee, but there would follow a fearful *Ataxy* with- 'out the preſent Government; whereof I ſo approve, that 'I have and do willingly ſubmit to it, and have and will 'preſs the ſame upon others.

'Thirdly, For the Ceremonies, that are in uſe among 'us, as I have already Subſcribed, ſo I ſhall diligently and 'daily Practiſe; neither have I ever been accuſed for neg- 'lect therein, where I have formerly exerciſed my Mi- 'niſterial Function, but to them do give my full approba- 'tion and allowance.

'Fourthly, For the Book of Common-Prayer, the 'Liturgie of the Church, and what is in them contained; '(finding them agreeable to the Word of God) I have 'uſed, as other Miniſters have done, and am reſolved 'ſo to do, and have not been refractory in this particu- 'lar at any time, nor do intend to be, God willing. And

'to

'to theſe I ſubſcribe with my heart and hand, humbly 'ſubmitting them, and my ſelf, to your Lordſhips plea-'ſure.

Your Lordſhips in all Humble Service,

Hugh Peter.

[*Freſh Diſcovery*, &c. *ſupra citat.*]

Indep. *O! This was written in the Days of his Blindneſs, but the Lord hath Inlightened him better now.*

Presbyt. *Oh! What Illuminations ſpring from Perjury, and the Power of the Sword! Does he not tell you, he had ſtudied Antiquity, and the Modern Writers too? Does he not,* ex animo *and from Deliberation of his Judgment, tell you, he was ſatisfied in every particular of the Prelatical Government? And yet who has done more to deſtroy it, Root and Branch? Was he not a Profeſſed* Presbyterian, *till* Independency *got the Weather-Gage, and then he tacks about too. So that he muſt be either a moſt Notorious Liar and Hypocrite, in this Letter to the Biſhop, or a moſt impious Wretch, to go againſt the Dictates of his Conſcience, in overthrowing the moſt Glorious and Flouriſhing Church under the Sun, and fighting againſt Her* tanquam pro Aris & Focis, *inſtead of laying down his Life for her, and therefore e'en take him among you, we ſhall know you better by the Company you keep than by any other Wayes.*

Indep. *Well, ſo let it be, if he had not known you, we had never had him, but Experience hath made more than him Wiſe, he is ſufficiently acquainted with* your Gorbellied Idol of *Presbyterie*, and the Diſſembly Doctors, *to have any thing more to do with them*, than to tell them, That they would do the State better Service with their Canonical Girdles, were the Knot tied in the Right place; *or, if that be too ſevere*, to wiſh them to Adjourn to *Bedlam, where, as the fitteſt place, I leave you and them, Good* Sir John Presbyter.

Theſe are the Men, and theſe are the Manners, theſe are their Poſitions and Principles, this is their Meekneſs

and Charity, their Tenderneſs and Unity; theſe are their Thoughts of Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, of Order and Government, of Obedience and Subjection. Here is a taſte of their Divinity, Humanity, Morality, Politicks, Ethicks and Honeſty, though it is *Canis ad Nilum*, only a few Snaps and away, for fear of the *Crocodiles*, and indeed *Nilus* is their proper Emblematical Parent, and they are the very *Crocodiles* of Religion, who are always Whining, till they are able to devour the Goverment: But certainly here is ſufficient Deformity, to perſwade all Good, Virtuous, and Religious People for ever to abandon them; not but that, if I thought it neceſſary, or that it would not Nauſeate rather than Divert the Reader, I could have blotted many more Pages out of their own Ink; but truly, meaſuring the Inclinations of others by my own, I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge that it gives me very ſlender diverſion to Traffick in ſuch Courſe Painting, and ſuch Ugly Colours; but there is a neceſſity, that he, who muſt Paint the Infernal Legions of Darkneſs, ſhould dip his Pencil in the deepeſt Black, and pourtray Deformity: And that he, who would, from the Life, draw the exact Picture of *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and other *Sects*, muſt fetch the beſt Colours to do it with, from their own Shops. And truly it is a ſatisfaction to me, that I have not had this drudgery put upon me, but that theſe Monſters have drawn the Lineaments of their own hideous Shapes and Figures: And whatever Opinion the preſent *Separatiſts* may have either of me or of their Predeceſſors, I think, though I might have diſplaid their Principles, which are equally Monſtrous and Dangerous, in the proper Colours of Truth, yet I ſhould not have beſpattered my ſelf at this groſs rate, to render them more ugly: And indeed, let who will dreſs theſe Principles in the Whiteſt Garb, they will look like *Negro*'s, who though Apparrelled in the cleaneſt Linnen, will be *Negro*'s ſtill: But certainly, as there can be no Exceptions againſt the Perſons who have given theſe Characters, they being the Principal Champions and *Heroes* of theſe two powerful Sects of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, ſo there can be no doubt of the Truth of their Characters; for like

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skilful Combatants, as by long tryal they beſt knew each others defects, ſo they addreſſed themſelves moſt vigorouſly to attack each other in the weakeſt places, and one may well perceive by the mutual Wounds they give and receive, that they both wanted the Armour of Truth: And moſt aſſuredly, if all, they charge each other to be Guilty of, be true, *Hell* hath nothing able much to ſurpaſs them in Blackneſs, and if they be falſe, nothing that can equal them in Malice and Falſeneſs; ſo that let their Accuſations be true or falſe, they manifeſtly prove each Faction to be moſt intolerably Wicked, Faithleſs, Miſchievous, and Dangerous to all Mankind, and even to Humane Society: And for my own particular, I cannot ſee, how it had been poſſible to have found any Arguments ſo capable to undeceive and deliver the deluded People of this *Nation* out of that ſtrange fond Opinion, which they have entertained of ſuch Sanctimonious *Impoſtors*, as theſe, with which they themſelves have furniſhed us againſt themſelves; and this, I hope, may likewiſe excuſe the Repetition of ſuch Treaſonable Poſitions, ſuch unmannerly and bitter Invectives, ſuch fierce Accuſations, and ſuch horrible Crimes, as theſe two Factions are by their own Mouths and Pens convicted to be Guilty of.

But their greateſt Guilt is ſtill behind, the very *Quinteſſence* of thoſe Envenomed Anti-Monarchical Principles refined into one *Diſmal Act*. For notwithſtanding all theſe mutual Quarrels, they were ſtill moſt Harmoniouſly conſenting and united in the Proſecution of the *King*, as the Common Enemy: And after all the Miſeries of a Cruel, Bloody, and Unnatural War, in which they had involved the Kingdom, they proceeded at the laſt to Conſummate all their former Wickedneſſes, by the moſt Execrable Deſign, that ever the Sun lent Beams to the Day to behold, the Murder of the Ornament of Monarchy, the Miracle of Piety, and the Vice-gerent of Heaven upon Earth, the *King*; their *King*; their Natural Liege Lord and Soveraign; ſeeking the Security of their former Treaſons by his Ruine; and palliating their Rebellion, by Murdering firſt his Innocence, and then his Sa-

cred Perſon, and indeavouring to cover all their Former Crimes by committing Greater.

For the *Independent* Faction, under *Cromwel's* Favour, who had now openly declared himſelf of that Party, having now got into their Poſſeſſion the uncontrolable Power of the Sword; they firſt Endeavour to get the King, now a Priſoner to the Parliament, into the hands of the Army, which was now wholly *Independent*, the *Prebyterians* being thruſt out of all Military Employs, this was in a little time, by *Cromwel's* Power, effected by one *Joyce*, a Creature of his, who when he had given him an Account of the Succeſs of that Commiſſion, *That's well, ſaid* Cromwel, *for now I have the King in my Power, I have the Parliament in my Pocket.*

The next ſtep was, to make ſure of the City of *London*, which, by the miſchief it had done the King, was of too great Importance to be ſlighted, and of great Neceſſity and Advantage to be gained: They were very ſenſible, ſhould *London* heartily and unanimouſly oppoſe them, that heavy Weight would be able to turn the Scale, and very much Traverſe, if not Hazard the intire Ruine of their Deſigns: This *Cromwel* knew ſo well, that he was wont to ſay to his Confidents, *That London muſt be brought to more abſolute Obedience, or laid in the Duſt.* A Declaration well worth the Conſideration of that Noble City, and a Caution to them for ever to be aware of theſe Treacherous *Factions*, who, if their Intereſt required it, and their Power were able to effect it, would make no Difficulty to Execute the Menace of that Infamous *Uſurper*.

But to proceed, in order to the gaining of this Point, they firſt Court the City to a Neutrality, but the City declining that, and there being ſome Overtures of an Accommodation with the King, which *Cromwel* and his Party moſt dreaded, he Threatens to March up with the Army to *London*, whereupon, the Citizens Hearts miſgiving them, and the *Independents* having gained upon diverſe Conſiderable Members of it, it was Reſolved, to try to divert that Storm, whereupon they ſend *Fowke, Gibbs, and Eſtwick*, to Treat with the Army, who like perfidious and timerous *Slaves*, betrayed their Truſt, and thoſe that Employed them

them in that Affair. For the Reſult of their Negotiation was, That the City ſhould relinquiſh the Power of the *Militia*, and leave the Eſtabliſhment of it to the Council of the Army; That they ſhould deliver up all their Forts, the Line of Communication, the Tower with all the Arms and Ammunition, to the Army; That they ſhould disband their Forces, demoliſh all their Out-works and Fortifications, and ſuffer the whole Army to March through the City; all which to the Eternal Diſhonor of thoſe Puſillanimous *Cowards*, only Valiant in Rebellion, they preſently after moſt Triumphantly put in Execution.

This great Rub being ſo fortunately ſurmounted, they now began to open the Diſmal Scene, and that, they might extinguiſh the leaſt remaining Sparks of Loyalty, they fall to Menacing ſuch, as durſt, in the leaſt, Oppoſe them. For upon the Debate, which happened concerning the Nulling of all Acts, Orders, *&c.* from *July* 26. 1647. *to Auguſt.* 6. Sir *Arthur Haſilrig* openly declared in the Houſe, *That ſome Heads muſt fly off, and that, he feared, the* Parliament of England *would not Save the Kingdom* of England, *that they muſt look another way for Safety:* And many other threatning Speeches were made by Sir *H. Vane* Jun. Sir *John Evelyn* Jun. *Prideaux*, *Gourdon*, *Mildmay*, *Scot*, and *Cornelius Holland*; and in concluſion, a Letter, with a Remonſtrance full of Invectives and Menaces, from the General *Fairfax* and the general Council of the Army, was produced, by which Means they gained that Point alſo.

Upon the 24. of *December* the four Bills, whereby the King was to be Deveſted of every thing, but the Empty Name, were ſent to the King, as the Conditions of reſtoring him to his Liberty and Crown. And upon the third of *January*, the Kings anſwer was Read and Debated; upon which Sir *Thomas Wroth* broke out into this Extravagant Speech, (fitter for *Bedlam* Himſelf, or rather *Tyburn*, than *St. Stephen's* Chappel,) *That* Bedlam *was appointed for Mad-men. and* Tophet *for Kings: That our Kings of late had carried themſelves, as if they were fit for no place, but* Bedlam; and therefore Moved, firſt to Secure

the King, and keep him close Prisoner in some Inland Castle, with strong Guards. *Secondly*, to draw up Articles of Impeachment against him. *Thirdly*, to lay him aside, and settle the Kingdom without him; and for his own particular, he said, he valued not what Form of Government they set up, so it were not by *Kings* and *Devils*.

This was Seconded by *Ireton*, who spoke the Sense of the Army, and said, *That the King had denyed Safety and Protection to his People, by denying the four Bills: That Subjection to him was but in lieu of Protection from him to the People; that This being denied by the King, they may well deny any more Subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him; That it was expected, after so long Patience, they should now shew their Resolution, and not desert those Valiant Men of the Army, who had ingaged for them beyond the possibility of retreat.*

And to put the thrust home to the very Heart of the King, towards the latter end of his Speech, laying his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, that *Sorcerer Cromwel* stood up, and spake to this Effect: 'That it was now 'expected, that the Parliament should Govern and Defend 'the Kingdom by their own Power and Resolution, and 'to teach the People no longer to expect Safety and Go'vernment from an Obstinate Man, whose Heart God 'had hardened; That, they who had defended the Par'liament from so many hazards, difficulties, and dan'gers, with the expence of their Blood, would defend them 'herein, with Fidelity and Courage, against all Opposi'on whatsoever; therefore, that they ought not to teach 'them, by neglecting their own and the Kingdoms Safety, 'in which their own is included, to think themselves be'trayed, and left to the Rage and Malice of an irreconci'lable Enemy, whom they had subdued for the Parlia'ment's sake, and therefore in probability likely to find 'his future Government of them insupportable, and more 'inclined to Revenge than Justice, lest otherwise Despair 'should teach those Valiant Men, to seek their Safety in 'some other means, than adhering to the Parliament, 'when they shall plainly see, you will not stick to your

'selves;

'ſelves: and how deſtructive ſuch a Reſolution in them 'may be to you all, added he, *I tremble to think, and leave* '*to you to Judge.*

Whereupon the Queſtion was immediately put, Whether the Two Houſes ſhould make no more Addreſſes or Applications to the King; and, the Houſe being Divided, with the *Yeas*, were 141. with the *Noes*, 91. So it paſſed in the Affirmative.

But matters did not run ſo ſmoothly, as they had hoped; For the general Cry of the Nation was for a *Perſonal Treaty* with the King: This was violently oppoſed by the *Independent* Faction, and becauſe there appeared great Inclinations in the City to favour the King, they Threatned, That after they had done with *Colcheſter*, they would Humble that Proud City of *London*. And to the Eternal Shame and Confuſion of theſe Pretenders to Conſcience, and to Tender Conſcience too; the Reader ſhall hear that hideous Animal, upon this occaſion, bray out the Bloody and Treaſonable Thoughts of the Party poſſeſſed with this *Legion*, in one of thoſe *Pamphlets*, which, according to their conſtant Practice, when they have the Preſs at Liberty, they Print and Diſperſe abroad to poyſon the abuſed People, and to incite and animate them to Diſloyalty, Treaſon, and the moſt Flagitious Villanies, under pretence of following the Directions and Dictates of Conſcience.

The Paper wears this Title, *The Voice of* Conſcience *to all Well-meaning Citizens.* Printed *July* 16. 1648. And thus he Harangues the People.

If you deſire to ſee a longer and more Bloody War, and *London* (as the Chief Seat thereof) weltring in its own Blood; your Wives, Children, and Families ſtarved and pined to death through Poverty, Famine, and want of Trade; if you would overthrow Parliaments for ever, and ſubject both them, and all People, to the Will of the *King* and his Courtiers; if you deſire to ſee Foreigners invade you on all Hands, and many Armies at once Quartered upon your Land, putting hard for a *New Conqueſt* of this miſerable divided Nation; and if you deſire to ſee your Wives and your Daughters raviſhed before your Faces, and

your Childrens Brains Dasht against the Stones by lustful and Blood-thirsty *Cavaleers*; then follow the Steps of your Wealthy head-strong *Aldermen* and *Common-Council-Men*, in their hasty pursuance of a *Personal Treaty* with the King, or which is all one, removing him out of the Armies Power: For if you do, flatter not your selves, but be assured, [most Impious Confidence,] *as certain as God is in Heaven*, you will see those Miseries come to pass, and that swiftly too, you will be devoured in an instant without Hope of Remedy.

But if you abhor, and would prevent those Mischiefs, then avoid and detest their Ingagement; fly from it as from a Serpent, it being a *Viper* bred in your own Bowels to destroy you; and if you have unadvisedly subscribed it, Repent speedily, and Recal your Hands.

They most grosly delude you, and abuse the *Parliament*, in pretending they are able, nay willing to Prevent or Suppress Tumults; Trust them once, and they will desire no more; they will soon make it past a *Treaty*: And when you lye at their Mercy, complaining of the Breach of their Ingagements, they'l Deride and Spurn you; and you shall not dare to open your Mouths against them, but if you do, it shall be your Death; Night nor Day, you shall not with Safety go out of your Doors, but Stabbing and Pistoling will be common at Noon-day.

Oh therefore, all ye that Honor God, see this Exceeding *Danger* before it be too late; have Patience; wait upon God in his Way; run not to *Egypt* for help; lean not on so broken a Reed; consider how this *City* hath been threatned, and by whom; how often *Plots* have been covered under *Treaties*; destroy not all your Mercies through Impatience; forsake not a Just *God* (who hitherto hath Preserved you,) for any *Unjust Man* that hath long sought by all Means to Destroy you and Enslave you, leap not out of the Pan into the Fire.

Wait but a while, and you will see both City and Nation flourish; distrust not; he that Believeth maketh not haste: Fear not, and you will soon see the Salvation that God is preparing for you by just Means. This Way, which

ye

ye are now put upon, being the moſt dangerous that can be, and ſuch as cannot be bleſſed: And had your *Aldermen* and *Common-Council-Men* any thing of God in them, they would rather ſeek ſatisfaction for all the Innocent Blood that hath been ſpilt, than for a *Perſonal Treaty*, which inſtead of ending your Troubles, as they would make you believe, will be but the beginning of new Sorrows; which indeed, is but juſt with God; * for as he juſtly puniſheth Sin without reſpect of Perſons, ſo he requireth, that all whom he hath Authorized with Power, ſhould Impartially do the like; for of all the Sins and Abominations of the Land, Murder and Innocent Blood (chiefly of ſo many thouſands and ten thouſands) is one of the moſt Crying Sins and Abominations; and until that be done away by juſt ſatisfaction, according to the Laws of God and Man, there is no appearance of any well-grounded Peace, whereof the *Scots* and their *Confederates* ſo much boaſt; but rather of utter Ruine to all the Three Nations.

* *Suppoſe the point of this Reaſoning were turned againſt theſe Tender Conſcienced Rebels, how would they approve of ſuch Divinity, and* Perillus *his Law* ---nec lex eſt juſtior ulla.

For as the Lives of *Saul* and *Ahab* were taken, the one for ſparing *Agag* King of *Amaleck*, and the other *Benhadad* King of *Aſſyria*, ſo it is as likely and poſſible, as it is juſt and equitable, That God will in the firſt place, ſo deal with thoſe who have juſtly accuſed the *Grand Enemy* of our Peace, if they inſtead of Proſecution, make as unjuſt an Agreement, contrary to the Revealed Will of God, 1 *Sam.* Chap. 15. ver. 8. and 1 *Kings* Chap. 20. ver. 42. and particularly in *Iſaiah*, Chap. 14. verſes 18. 19, 20, 21. where he expreſly tells us, *All the Kings of the Nations, even all of them, lye in Glory, every one in his own Houſe: But* Thou *art caſt out of thy Grave, like an abominable* Branch, *and as the Rayment of thoſe that are ſlain, thruſt through with a Sword, that go down to the Stones of the Pit, as a Carcaſe trodden under foot. Thou ſhalt not be joyned with them in Burial, becauſe* (obſerve how directly the Villain turns the point of the Sword of the Spirit of the Word of God againſt the Kings Heart, to incourage the Regicides to pierce it with the Sword of Uſurpation) *thou haſt deſtroyed thy Land, and ſlain thy People; the Seed of evil doers ſhall never be renowned. Prepare*

Slaughter for his Children, for the Iniquity of their Fathers, that they may not riſe nor poſſeſs the Land.

This is the Voice of the Conſcience of *Separation*, and how convincingly well it pleads fot theKindneſs and Eſteem of all Loyal Subjects, and for the Favour and Indulgence of *Crowned Heads*, let this Paper be an Eternal Witneſs. If this be Conſcience, all People, but Kings more eſpecially, had need to inſert it into their *Litany*, From the Tender Conſcience of Diſſenting Separatiſts, *Libera Nos Domine.* And moſt aſſuredly, if the True Religion, of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, teach and enjoyn all men, for Conſcience ſake, and under the Penalty of Eternal Damnation, to be Subject to Lawful Kings and Governors, though Heathens, Infidels, and Idolaters, as *Nero* was, when that Command was impoſed, nay, and a moſt cruel Perſecutor too; that muſt needs be a Falſe Religion, and an Evil and Wicked Conſcience, which does not only teach Rebellion, but is ſo Loud and Clamorous to incite Subjects, contrary to all the Obligations and Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, to ſeek the Ruine, Death, and Deſtruction of their Lawful, a Juſt, Religious,and *Chriſtian* King.

But the Faction, who now were abſolutely reſolved upon the Kings Death, were not content with their Pens to incite the People to expect it; but, that they might accompliſh their Execrable purpoſe, they fell again to Purging and Impeaching ſuch Gentlemen, as had but the ſuſpicion of Loyalty, or had done any thing towards a *Perſonal Treaty:* And *Skippon*, who, from a pitiful Waggoner under Sir *Francis Vere*, had by his lucky Rebellion advanced to be a Major General, a Member of the Commons, and Governor of the City, Moved, That all *Perſonal Treaters* might be Excluded. So ſaid, ſo done; and no ſooner ſaid and done, and the Coaſt on that ſide clear, but it was Moved in the Houſe to proceed Capitally againſt the King. Whereupon *Cromwel*, the moſt Superlative *Hypocrite* in Nature, by whoſe forelaid Contrivance all this Affair was pre-concerted, ſtood up, and, as if he had been ſurprized, ſaid, *That if any Man moved this upon Deſign, he ſhould think him the Greateſt*

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Traytor *in the World*; *but ſince* Providence and Neceſſity *had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs their* Counſels, *though he was not provided on the ſudden to give them Counſel in ſo Weighty an Affair.*

However, upon this Motion, An Ordinance for the Tryal of the King was immediately brought in, Read and Paſſed that very day; and the next being the 28*th. of December* 1648. it was carried up to the Lords for their Concurrence. But the Remainder of that Houſe, how Undutyful ſoever they had formerly been, yet, moſt of them, for all had not, had ſo much Courage and Honour left, as would not permit them, for their Own, and the ſake of their Poſterity, to give their *Content* to that Ordinance, which, by utterly ſtopping the Fountain of all Honour, muſt render them, who derived theirs from thence, not only moſt Ingrateful, but Infamous in all future Ages: And therefore after the Reading of it, This Ordinance was by the Major part Rejected, and the Houſe Adjourned themſelves for ſeven days.

This Counterbuff, ſo little expected by the Faction, who thought they had humbled the whole Nation into that abject ſtate of Cowardly *Slavery*, that none could be found ſo hardy as to oppoſe them, did wonderouſly Gall and Sting theſe Conſcientious Traytors; but their Zeal, or rather Pride and Ambition, were now at the Spring-Tide, and being ſwell'd by the Tempeſt of Abſolute Power, they were reſolved to ſurmount all difficulties and oppoſitions; and being about to Cut up the very Root of Majeſtie, it is no wonder, if they made no ſcruple of Lopping the Branches of Honour: And therefore, *The Commons of* England, as they called themſelves, many of whom were never born to an Inch *of Freehold*, immediately cut this Gordian Difficulty of the Negative, and indeed the whole Power of the Peerage by theſe Three Keen Votes.

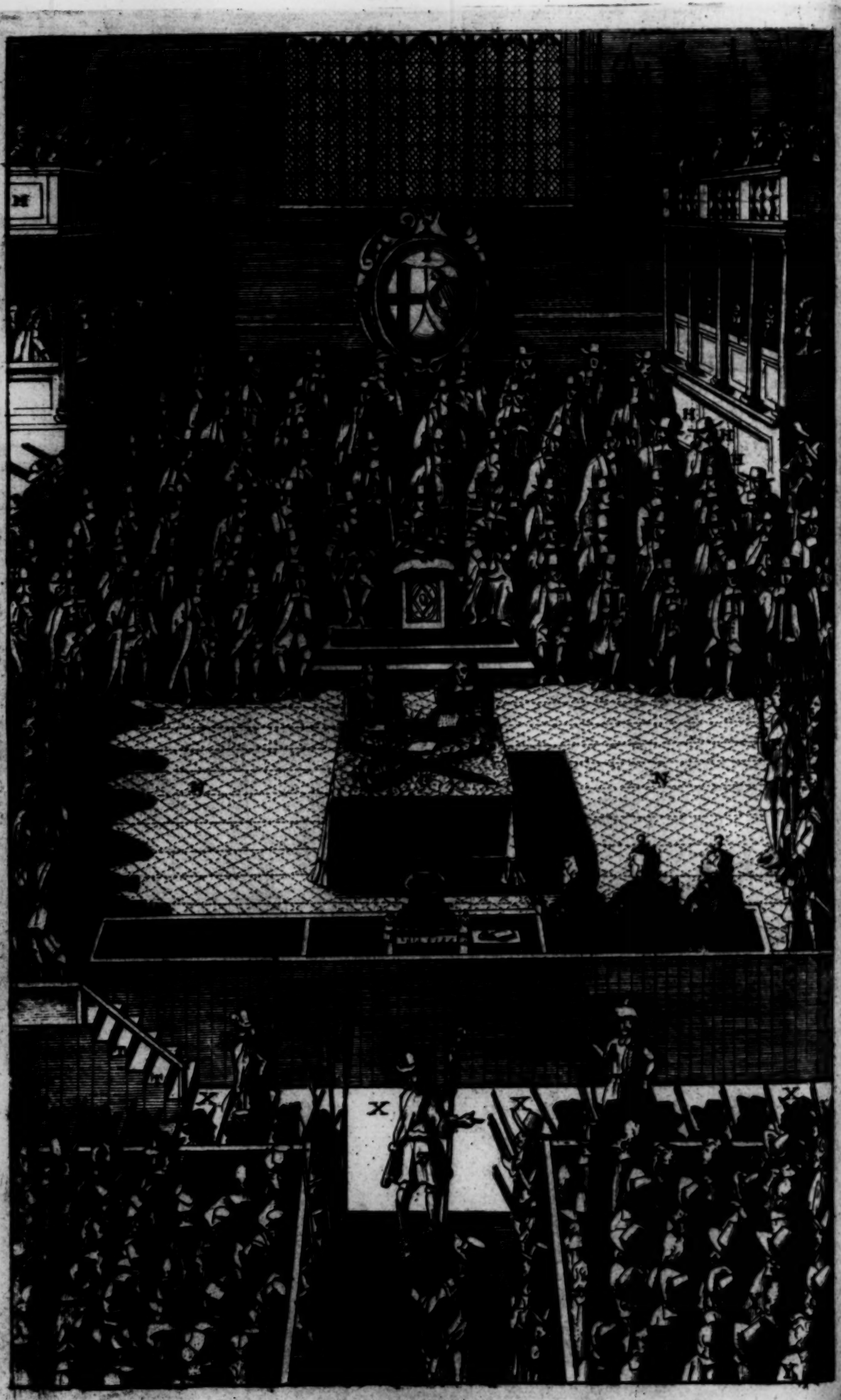
Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That the People, under God, are the Original of all Juſt Power.*

Reſolved, *&c. That* the Commons of *England in Parliament Aſſembled, being Choſen by, and Repreſenting the* People, *have the Supreme Power of the Nation.*

Reſolved, &c. *That whatſoever is Enacted or Declared for Law by the Houſe of* Commons, *Aſſembled in Parliament, hath the Force of Law.* And upon the Strength of theſe Votes, the Bill was paſſed, as the Act of the *Commons.*

And now the Fatal *Tragedy* was ready for the Acting, a *Tragedy* whoſe Horror and Amazing Wickedneſs, I muſt confeſs I want Language to expreſs, and therefore I have nothing more to do, but to draw up the Curtain, and preſent them to the Reader in their own Dreſs, Habits, Words, and Actions, in the following Journal.

THE


M
N
X

A THE *King* ſitting in a large Elbow-Chair, covered with Crimſon Velvet, with Gold Fringe and Nails, and a Velvet Cuſhion, in a diſtinct Apartment, directly over againſt the Lord Preſident; between the ſpace allotted for the Counſel of the Common-wealth, ſtanding on the right hand of the King, and the like (vacant) ſpace leading from the Head of the Stairs to the *Kings* Apartment aforeſaid.

Theſe three ſeveral Diviſions (all level with the Floor of the Court) were hung with Turky Carpets, and Matted.

In the Partition allotted for the *King* was alſo placed a ſmall Table covered with a Turky Carpet, and a Standiſh and Paper ſet thereon, if his Majeſty ſhould have occaſion for it.

Note, The *King*, of the *mere Motion, ſpecial Grace, and ſingular Diſpenſation* of his (*Soveraign*) Commons, was permitted, and did ſit with his *Hat on* all the time; nay, at the very moment of pronouncing the *Bloody Sentence*. (See the Journal Page 25.)

Thus they, who thought it not *Manners* to take off his *Hat*, yet thought it *no Sin* to take off *His Sacred Head*.

B The Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw* ſitting in an Elbow-Chair, advanced upon the firſt riſing of the Court, having a large Desk fixed before him, covered with a Velvet Fall, and a large Velvet Cuſhion thereupon.

C *John Laſte* } ſitting on the { right } hand of the Lord Preſident.
D *William Say* } { left }

Theſe two being appointed to be his Lordſhips Aſſiſtants.

Note, That the ſaid Lord Preſident and his ſaid Aſſiſtants, being all three of the Long Robe, ſate in their Gowns, the reſt of the Commiſſioners in their uſual Habits, as Gentlemen and Souldiers.

Note, That the ſaid Lord Preſident ſat in a black Tufted Gown till the day of the Fatal Doom, what time he changed it for a Bloody *Scarlet Robe*, and had the Inſolence to bid the *King* take particular *Notice* thereof, thinking poſſibly by ſuch his barbarous Inſulting Pedantick Threats to ſtrike Terror into the *King*, with which yet the *King* was nothing moved or concerned.

E *Andrew Broughton*, } The two Clerks appointed to attend the Court, being ſeated
F *John Phelps*, } at the Feet of the ſaid Lord Preſident, under the Covert of his Desk, (Journal Page 12.)

G The Table placed before the ſaid Clerks, whereon ſometimes lay the Common-Wealths Mace and Sword of State or Juſtice: Sometimes, I ſay, for at other times, the ſaid Sword was advanced in the head of the Guards, with Partizans ſtanding in the Court, on the right hand of the King, as he ſate, and the ſaid Mace was ſometimes handed by their Serjeant at Arms, on the out-ſide of the Bar, nigh the King on his left-hand. But in this they are to be pardoned, it being the firſt time they had Kinged it, and therefore it was not to be expected that they ſhould be ſo ready and exact in their Ceremonies.

H The Scale of Benches (which were covered with Scarlet Bays, and the Foot-ſteps matted) reaching up from the floor of the Court within 5 or 6 Foot of the very Glazing of the weſt Window of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, whereon ſate the reſt of the Commiſſioners.

I The Atchievement of the Common-wealth of *England*.

Which ſurely the Uſurpers had cauſed there to be fixed, (like the *Hand writing on the Wall*,) in direct view of the King to let him know, That *His Kingdom* was numbered and finiſhed, and Monarchy it ſelf aboliſhed. Well hoping at the ſight thereof his Royal Countenance would change, and his Knees ſmite one againſt the other: But his Sacred Majeſty not conſcious of, nor dreading any thing, which they had either the Malice, or Impudence to Act, Affront, Affright, or Charge him with, viewed it with his own, to wit, *an undaunted, unchangeable Countenance*, and with a *Majeſtick gate* (Lyon Paſſant like) made towards the place they had prepared for him at his own leiſure, while the Impatient Serjeant at Armes, on the other ſide the Partition, was fain to attend his Princely Motion with the Mace Shouldered, and who was viſibly ſtruck with ſuch Aſtoniſhment, that he went Trembling and Quaking, ſcarce able to ſupport the Mace, or to hold up the Bar to let the King into his Apartment aforeſaid, where the King preſently ſat himſelf down in the Chair ſet there for him; and upon all occaſions offered him by the Court, always roſe up with that Preſence of mind, and Princely Meen, that made the Commiſſioners ſhamefully hang down their Heads; none of them bearing up, but the Frontleſs Lord Preſident, who throughout brazened it like the True and Truſty Chief Commiſſioner of the bold Uſurpers, while the King never ſeemed in the leaſt concerned at what he had to ſay, or durſt to ſay or do unto him; the King not giving them the Glory or Pleaſure to ſay within themſelves, That they had at laſt made him yield, or at leaſt diſmayed him. With which his Princely Courage and Conſtancy the Spectators on the Scaffolds being juſtly and highly affected, they could no longer forbear, but burſt out into loud Acclamations, *God bleſs your Majeſty, God ſave the King*. And which were ſeconded and returned as loud from the thronged Multitude in the Hall, which made the Commiſſioners as it were ſtart and look about them, to find themſelves thus deceived in the People, it being eaſie to believe they expected their Crucifiges, and not thoſe *Hoſannahs*. Whereupon Order was given to the Cryer, and to the Officers attending in the Hall alſo, ſtrictly to Charge and Command Silence, which yet did hardly prevail with the People.

Oliver

K *Oliver Cromwell* } ſitting on the { right ſide } of the Eſcocheon or Shield, as the Suppor-
L *Henry Martin* } { left ſide } ters of the Common-wealth.

I do not remember there was any Eſcrote or Motto; for how wicked ſoever, they then thought, *That God* was ſuch an *One* as *Themſelves*, yet did they at preſent forbear to declare ſo, they being not then at that Height at which they ſoon after arrived in their Coyn; The *Blaſphemous* Motto whereof [on the Reverſe] was, *God with us.*

M The Galleries and Scaffolds on either ſide the Court thronged with Spectators.

N The Floor of the Court Matted, and kept clear and open, (as here repreſented) by the Guards on either ſide, no perſon being permitted to abide between the King, the Counſel, and the Court, but the known Officers and Meſſengers, appointed to attend the Court.

Note, That the Level of the Floor of the Court was raiſed very high from the Ground, and alſo made cloſe up with Boards from the Ground, about three Foot higher than the Level of the Court Floor; ſo that the Commiſſioners (whoſe ſafety ſeeems principally Conſulted in this new Model) could not be diſcerned (much leſs preſſed upon) by the Multitude in the Hall, but at ſome conſiderable diſtance. But his Majeſties back parts (ſitting and ſtanding) were always viſible to the People below in the Hall, he being placed as you ſee on the outer Line of the Pales of the Court.

This Court extended it ſelf in length and depth from the weſt Window of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as far as the ſtone Steps now leading up to the Courts of the *Chancery*, and the *Kings-Bench*, and in Breadth, from Gallery to Gallery, belonging to the ſaid Courts reſpectively, covering and over-laying both the ſaid Courts.

For the Uſurpers thought it not enough to deſtroy and aboliſh the ancient Fundamental Laws, the envied *Ornaments* of *Monarchy*, and the Safeguard both of the King and People. And to commit all the Liberties of *England* to the ſafe Cuſtody of Keepers of their own appointing; and who were to be Anſwerable to them for their Eſcape, unleſs they alſo overwhelmed and trod under foot the ſaid Courts alſo from whence thoſe wholeſome Laws were wont duly to be diſpenſed to the Nation, that their place might no where be found, but for ever be forgotten; for when they had once killed, and taken Poſſeſſion alſo, they then deſerted and laid deſolate thoſe ancient Tribunals, and planted the Courts of their Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, and of their *Upper Bench*, forſooth, along the North ſide of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, whence they diſtributed to the enſlaved People ſuch Liberties, Priviledges, and Laws, as they thought fit to afford them.

O A Paſſage (lined with Souldiers on both ſides,) leading from the Court of Wards into the High Court of Juſtice, and through which the Commiſſioners coming from the Painted Chamber, made their entry into the ſaid Court.

P The Place where the moving Guard with Partizans (who together with the Serjeant at Arms, and a Perſon carrying the Sword of State or Juſtice always came along with the Commiſſioners from the Exchequer Chamber into the Court,) ſtood, ſitting the Court.

Q The place where the moving Guards with Partizans (which always attended the King, from Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe up into the ſaid Court, and back thither again) ſtood, ſitting the Court.

R The paſſage leading from the Stair head, to the diſtinct Apartment appointed for the King, as aforeſaid.

Note, This paſſage was (railed and hung with Turky Carpets, and) always kept Barr'd and Empty, on purpoſe, as is to be ſuppoſed, that none might come near the King to adviſe, or aſſiſt him in any wiſe.

§ 1,2,3. The Partition where the Counſel of the Common-wealth, *viz.* ——— *Cooke*, ——— *Doriſlaus*, and ——— *Aske*, ſtood alone on the Right hand of the King, as he was ſitting.

T The Stairs by which the King aſcended up into the Court out of *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

U The Paſſage leading into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, from Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, where His Majeſty was kept under ſtrong Guards, in readineſs when the Court ſhould from time to time order him to be brought up.

This Paſſage was planted thick with Souldiers on both ſides, who, as his Majeſty paſſed through them, to and from the Court, were wont to blow their ſtinking Mundungoes in his Royal Face, without any reproof of their Officers, who at that time durſt not diſtaſte the Souldiers, nor appear Guilty of any the leaſt Reſpects, if they had any for the King; Of which baſe rudeneſs, and affront, the King yet made no Complaint, though he gave them to underſtand he was ſenſible of it, by his often putting away the offenſive ſmoak with his Hand.

W A large free Paſſage leading from *Weſtminſter-Hall* gate, ſtreight through the ſaid Hall, within 12 or 14 Foot of the bottom of this Court.

X Another ſuch like paſſage (going croſs the upper end of the laſt mentioned paſſage, reaching and extending it ſelf from one ſide of the ſaid Hall to the other.

Note, both theſe Paſſages were ſtrongly Rayled to keep the Multitude (who, when the Court was ſet, was freely permitted to fill the Hall, between the Rayls and the Wall,) from breaking in upon the Souldiers, who were planted all along within the Rayles, to obſerve and awe the Multitude, and ſecure the Court.

In theſe vacant free Paſſages the Officers walked to and fro in a readineſs, and the Souldiers thus fenced from the Mulitude, had the free uſe and ſecurity of their Arms upon all Accidents, and which was thought to be no more than neceſſary. For how confident ſoever the ſaid Commiſſioners might ſeem to be, yet certainly they had their Fears. Witneſs (beſides all this ſolemnity of ſecurity in view as aforeſaid) the Guards in both the Palace Yards, the Guards in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Garden (Journal Page 18,19.) The bricking up the Door in the paſſage going out of the Hall towards *Heaven.* The ſtrong Guards in the Courts of Requeſt, and Court of Wards (where no Stranger, upon any terms, was permitted to ſtay, the Commiſſioners being to paſs through thoſe Guards from the Painted Chamber into the Court; by which it appeared they had Fears within and without, and on every ſide, elſe what meant thoſe other Guards alſo placed above in the Leads on the out ſide the Hall (and other ſuſpected places) mentioned in the Journal Page 19.) if it were not to prevent the danger, which they feared might otherwiſe have come from thence upon them; where they ſat, indeed, a very fair Mark for any Perſon that had been but half ſo bloody-minded as themſelves.

Y The thronging Multitudes between the Rayles and the Hall Walls.

Z The Officers walking up and down in the ſaid free Paſſages (between the Souldiers ſtanding within the Rayles) ready to give the neceſſary Orders and Commands upon all occaſions.

The Pageants of this Mock-Tribunal is thus repreſented to your view by an Eye and Ear Witneſs of what he ſaw and heard there.

Charles by ye Grace of God King of Great Britain France & Ireland Defender of the Faith etc.

A

JOURNAL

Read *Decemb.* xi. 1650.

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

High Court of Justice,

ERECTED

By Act of the Commons of England, *Intituled, An Act of the Commons of* England, *Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of* CHARLES STUART, *King of* England. *The Tenor whereof followeth,* viz.

The Act.

An Act of the Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*.

WHereas *it is notorious, That* Charles Stuart, *the now King of* England, *not content with those many Encroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedoms, hath had a wicked Design totally to Subvert the Ancient and Fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government,*

and that besides all other evil ways and means to bring this Design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with Fire and Sword, Levied and maintained a cruel War in the Land, against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby the Country hath been miserably wasted, the Publick Treasure Exhausted, Trade decayed, thousands of People murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed; For all which high and treasonable Offences, the said Charles Stuart *might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign Punishment: Whereas also, the Parliament well hoping that the Restraint and Imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the distempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed Judicially against him; but found by sad Experience, that such their Remisness served only to encourage him and his Complices in the continuance of their evil practices, and in raising of new Commotions, Rebellions and Invasions; for prevention therefore of the like or greater Inconveniences, and to the end no Chief Officer or Magistrate whatsoever may hereafter presume traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the Enslaving or Destroying of the* English *Nation, and to expect Impunity for so doing, Be it Ordained and Enacted by the Commons in Parliament, and it is hereby Ordained and Enacted by Authority thereof, That* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, *Esquires, Sir* Hardress Waller, *Knight*, Philip Skippon, Valentine Wauton, Thomas Harrison, Edward Whaley, Thomas Pride, Isaac Ewer, Richard Ingoldsby, Henry Mildmay, *Esquires, Sir* Thomas Honywood, Thomas *Lord* Grey *of* Groby, Philip *Lord* Lisle, William *Lord* Mounson, *Sir* John Danvers, *Sir* Thomas Maleverer *Baronet, Sir* John Bourchier, *Sir* James Harrington, *Sir* William Allanson, *Sir* Henry Mildmay, *Sir* Thomas Wroth, *Knights, Sir* William Masham, *Sir* John Barrington, *Sir* William Brereton, *Baronets*, Robert Wallop, William Heveningham, *Esquires*, Isaac Pennington, Thomas Atkins, Rowland Wilson, *Aldermen of the City of* London, *Sir* Peter Wentworth, *Knight of the* Bath, Henry Martin, William Purefoy, Godfrey Bosvile, John Trenchard, Herbert Morley, John Berkstead, Matthew Tomlinson, John Blackiston, Gilbert Millington, *Esquires, Sir* William Constable,

ſtable, *Baronet*, Edmond Ludlow, John Lambert, John Hutchinſon, *Eſquires*, *Sir* Arthur Heſilrige, *Sir* Michael Liveſey, *Baronets*, Richard Salwey, Humphry Salwey, Robert Tichbourn, Owen Roe, Robert Manwaring, Robert Lilbourn, Adrian Scroop, Richard Deare, John Okey, Robert Overton, John Huſon, John Desborough, William Goff, Robert Duckenfield, Cornelius Holland, John *Carey, *Eſquires*, *Sir* William Armyn, *Baronet*, John Jones, *Eſquire*, Miles Corbet, Francis Allen, Thomas Liſter, Benjamin Weſton, Perigrin Pelham, John Gourdon, *Eſquires*, Francis Thorp, *Serjeant at Law*, John Nutt, Thomas Challoner, Algernon Sydney, John Anlaby, John Moore, Richard Darley, VVilliam Say, Joh. *Aldred, John Fagg, James Nelthorp, *Eſquires*, *Sir* VVilliam Roberts, *Knight*, Francis Laſtells, Alexander Rigby, Henry Smith, Edmond VVild, James Challoner, Joſias Berners, Dennis Bond, Humphrey Edwards, Gregory Clement, John Fry, Thomas VVogan, *Eſquires*, *Sir* Gregory Norton, *Baronet*, John Bradſhaw, *Serjeant at Law*, Edmond Harvey, John Dove, John Ven, *Eſquires*, Iohn Fowks, *Alderman of the City of* London, Thomas Scot, *Eſquire*, Thomas Andrews, *Alderman of the City of* London, William Cawley, Abraham, Burrell, Anthony Stapeley, Roger Gratwick, Iohn Downs, Thomas Horton, Thomas Hammond, George Fenwick, *Eſquires*, Robert Nicholas, *Serjeant at Law*, Robert Reynolds, Iohn Liſle, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, *Eſquires*, *Sir* Gilbert Pickering, *Baronet*, Iohn Weaver, Roger Hill, Iohn Lenthall, *Eſquires*, *Sir* Edward Banton, Iohn Corbet, Thomas Blunt, Thomas Boon, Auguſtine Garland, Auguſtine Skinner, Iohn Dixwell, George Fleetwood, Simon Meyne, Iames Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrave, *Eſquires*, *Sir* Peter Temple, *Knight and Baronet*, Thomas VVayte, Iohn Brown, Iohn Lowry, *Eſquires*, *Shall be, and are hereby Appointed and Required to be Commiſſioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying and Adjudging of the ſaid* Charles Stuart. *And the ſaid Commiſſioners or any Twenty or more of them, ſhall be, and are hereby Authorized and Conſtituted an High Court of Juſtice to meet and ſit at ſuch*

* This ought to be *Carew.*

* *Alured.*

con-

convenient time and place as by the ſaid Commiſſioners or the major part of twenty or more of them under their Hands and Seals ſhall be appointed and notified by publick Proclaimation in the great Hall or Palace-Yard at VVeſtminſter, *and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the ſaid High Court or major part thereof meeting ſhall hold fit; and to take order for the charging of him the ſaid* Charles Stuart *with the Crimes and Treaſons abovementioned; and for the receiving of his perſonal Anſwer thereunto, and for the examination of VVitneſſes upon Oath, which the Court hath hereby Authority to adminiſter, or otherwiſe, and taking any other Evidence concerning the ſame, and thereupon, or in default of ſuch Anſwer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Juſtice, and the merit of the Cauſe, and ſuch final Sentence to execute or cauſe to be executed ſpeedily and impartially. And the ſaid Court is hereby Authorized and required to appoint and direct all ſuch Officers, Attendants and other circumſtances as they or the major part of them ſhall in any ſort Judge neceſſary or uſeful for the orderly and good managing of the premiſes. And* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax *the General, and all Officers and Soldiers under his command, and all Officers of Juſtice, and other well affected perſons are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and aſſiſting unto the ſaid Court in the due Execution of the Truſt hereby committed. Provided, That this Act, and the Authority hereby granted; do continue in force, for the ſpace of one Month from the making hereof, and no longer.*

Hen. Scobell *Cler. Par. Dom. Com.*

In purſuance of which ſaid Act, the Houſe of Commons Ordered as followeth, viz. Die Sabbati, 6. Jan. 1648.

ORdered by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, That the Commiſſioners nominated in the Act for Erecting of an High Court of Iuſtice for the Trying and Iudging of *Charles Stuart*, King of England, do meet on *Monday* next, at two of the Clock in the afternoon, in the *Painted Chamber.*

By

By virtue of which ſaid recited Act, and of the ſaid Order grounded thereupon, the Commiſſioners whoſe Names are here under-written, met on *Monday*, the ſaid eighth day of *January*, 1648. in the ſaid *Painted Chamber*, at *Weſtminſter*, where the ſaid Act was openly read, and the Court called.

Commiſſioners Preſent.

Thomas Lord *Fairfax*.
Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;
Henry Ireton, Eſq;
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*.
Valentine Wauton.
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewers.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
Peter Temple, Eſq;
John Ven, Eſq;
Thomas Challoner, Eſq;
Henry Martin, Eſq;
John Berkſtead, Eſq;
Gilbert Millington, Eſq;
Richard Deane, Eſq;
Cornelius Holland, Eſq;
John Jones, Eſq;
John Aldred, Eſq;
Henry Smith, Eſq;
John Liſle, Eſq;
James Temple, Eſq;
Adrian Scroope, Eſq;
Edmond Ludlow, Eſq;
John Huſon, Eſq;
Thomas Harriſon, Eſq;
Nicholas Love, Eſq;
Thomas Lord *Grey* of *Groby*.
Sir *John Danvers*.
Sir *Tho Maleverer*, Bar.
Sir *John Bourchier*.
Sir *Henry Mildmay*.
James Challoner, Eſq;
Gregory Clement, Eſq;
John Fry, Eſq;
Auguſtine Garland, Eſq;
Daniel Blagrave, Eſq;
Robert Tichbourn, Eſq;
Wil. Heveningham, Eſq;
William Pureſoy, Eſq;
John Blackiſtone, Eſq;
William Lord *Mounſon*.
John Okey, Eſq;
John Carew, Eſq;
Peregrine Pelham, Eſq;
Francis Laſſells, Eſq;
John Downs, Eſq;
John Brown, Eſq;
John Hutchinſon, Eſq;
Miles Corbet, Eſq;
Humphrey Edwards, Eſq;
Edmond Harvy, Eſq;
William Goff, Eſq;

The Comiſſioners of the Court being as aforeſaid, met, and informing themſelves of the tenor of their Commiſſion, they accordingly appoint the ſaid Court to be holden in the ſame place, on *Wedneſday*, the Tenth of the ſaid Month of *January*, and ordered Proclamation thereof to be made in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, by *Edward Dendy* Serjeant at Arms, Authorizing him thereunto by Precept under their Hands and Seals, in theſe words following, *viz.*

By Virtue of an Act of the Commons of England *Aſſembled in Parliament for erecting of an High Court of Juſtice for the Trying and Judging of* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *we whoſe Names are hereunder written (being Commiſſioners, amongſt others nominated in the ſaid Act) do hereby appoint, That the High Court of Juſtice mentioned in the ſaid Act, ſhall be holden in the* Painted Chamber, *in the Palace of* Weſtminſter *on* Wedneſday *the tenth day of this inſtant* January, *by One of the Clock in the afternoon ; and this we do appoint to be Notified by Publique Proclaiming hereof in the great Hall at* Weſtminſter, *to morrow being the Ninth day of this Inſtant* January, *betwixt the hours of Nine and Eleven in the Forenoon. In Teſtimony whereof we have hereunto ſet our Hands and Seals this eight day of* January, Anno Domini 1648.

We the Commiſſioners whoſe Names are hereunto Subſcribed, do hereby Authorize and Appoint *Edward Dendy* Serjeant at Arms, to cauſe this to be Proclaimed according to the Tenor thereof, and to make due Return of the ſame with this Precept to the ſaid Court at the time and place above-mentioned.

Sealed and Subſcribed by

William Monſon.
Tho. Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
Gregory Norton.
Henry Ireton.
H. Edwards.
John Hutchinſon.
Har. Waller.
William Conſtable.
John Liſle.
Henry Martin.
Valentine Wauton.
John Blackiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
Adrian Scroope.
James Temple.
James Chaloner.
Thomas Harriſon.
John Jones.
John Huſon.
Peregr. Pelham.
Edward Ludlow.
John Berkſtead.
Peter Temple.
Edw. Whaley.
John Okey.
Rob. Tichbourn.
Thomas Pride.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Maleverer.
Thomas Challoner.
John Fry.
John Bourchier.
John Carew.
Aug. Garland.
Richard Deane.
Daniel Blagrave.

Which

Which ſaid Precept is thus returned on the Backſide, *viz.* I have cauſed due Proclamation to be made hereof according to the tenor of the Precept within written.

E. Dendy, Serjeant at Arms.

And in order to the more regular and due proceedings of the ſaid Court, they nominate Officers, and accordingly choſe Mr. *Aske*, Dr. *Doriſlaus*, Mr. *Steel*, and Mr. *Cooke* Councel, to attend the ſaid Court, Mr. *Greaves* and Mr. *John Phelpes*, Clerks, to whom notice thereof was ordered to be given.

Mr. *Edward Walford*, Mr. *John Powel*, Mr. *John King*, Mr. *Phineas Payne*, and Mr. *Hull* are choſen Meſſengers to attend this Court.

January the Ninth, 1648. According to the Precept of the Eighth inſtant, Serjeant *Dendy* made Proclamation for the ſitting of the ſaid Court, in manner following, *viz.*

About Ten of the clock of the ſame day, the ſaid Serjeant being attended with ſix Trumpets, and a Guard of two Troops of Horſe, himſelf with them on horſeback, bearing his Mace, rideth into the middle of *Weſtminſter-Hall* (the Court of *Chancery* then ſitting at a general Seal) where, after the ſaid Trumpets ſounding (the Drums then likewiſe beating in the *Palace-yard*) he cauſeth the ſaid Precept to be openly read, which being done, the Houſe of Commons at the ſame time ſitting, Order as followeth,

Die Martis, 9 Januarii, 1648.

Ordered by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, that the ſame Proclamation that was made this Morning in Weſtminſter-Hall *touching the Tryal of the* King, *be made at the* Old Exchange, *and in* Cheapſide, *forthwith, and in the ſame manner, and that Serjeant* Dendy, *the Serjeant at Arms, do Proclaim the ſame accordingly, and that the Guard that lieth in* Pauls, *do ſee the ſame done.*

In

In purſuance whereof Serjeant *Dendy* about twelve of the clock of the ſame day, accompanied with ten Trumpets and Two Troops of Horſe, drawn out for that purpoſe in *Paul*'s Church-Yard, himſelf mounted, bearing his Mace, they all march from thence unto the *Old Exchange*, *London*, where after the Trumpets had ſounded, he maketh Proclamation as he had done before in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: And from thence they immediately march to *Cheapſide*, making the like Proclamation there alſo, in manner as aforeſaid; during all which time the Streets are throng'd with Spectators, without the leaſt violence, injury or affront publiquely done or offered.

Mercurii, 10 *Januarii*, 1648. Commiſſioners preſent, *Painted Chamber*.

Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;
Henry Ireton, Eſq;
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Knight.
Valentine Wauton, Eſq;
Edward Whaley, Eſq;
Thomas Harriſon, Eſq;
Thomas Pride, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Baronet.
James Challoner.
Sir *John Danvers*.
John Fry.
Sir *Gregory Norton*.
Auguſtine Garland.
Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Ven.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Blackiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinſon.
John Corbet.
Robert Tichbourne, Eſq;
Owen Roe, Eſq;
John Dean, Eſq;
John Haſon, Eſq;
Cornelius Holland, Eſq;
John Carew, Eſq;
Thomas Liſter, Eſq;
Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Knight.
Thomas Challoner, Eſq;
Peregrine Pelham, Eſq;
John Moor, Eſq;
William Say, Eſq;
Francis Laſſells, Eſq:
Henry Smith, Eſq;
Thomas Scot, Eſq;
Nicholas Love, Eſq;
Vincent Potter, Eſq;
Adrian Scroope, Eſq;
John Dixwell, Eſq;
John Liſle, Eſq;
John Okey, Eſq;
John Berkſtead, Eſq;

The Court being ſat in the Place aforeſaid, began to take into conſideration the manner and order that they intended to obſerve at the Kings Tryal, and appointed two Uſhers of the Court, *viz.* Mr. *Edward Walford*

Walford and Mr. *Vowell*, and Mr. *Litchman* was choſen a Meſſenger of this Court.

John Bradſhaw Serjeant at Law a Commiſſioner of this Court, was then choſen Preſident of the ſaid Court, who being abſent, Mr. *Say* one of the Commiſſioners then preſent, was appointed Preſident *Pro tempore*, and untill the ſaid Serjeant *Bradſhaw* ſhould attend the ſaid Service, the ſaid Mr. *Say* accordingly took his place, and gave the thanks of this Court to Mr. *Garland*, one of the Commiſſioners of this Court, for his great pains by him formerly taken about the buſineſs of this Court.

The Court were informed of the great and important Imployment that at preſent lay upon Mr. *Greaves* in the behalf of the *Commonwealth*, from which he cannot be ſpared without prejudice to the Publique; and it was therefore moved in his behalf that he might be Excuſed from attending the ſervice of one of the Clerks of the ſaid Court, which the Court admitted as a ſufficient Excuſe, and thereupon Mr. *Andrew Broughton* was named and appointed one of the Clerks of this Court with *John Phelpes*, the ſaid *John Phelpes* being then ſent for by a Meſſenger of the Court, and accordingly making his appearance, was commanded to attend the ſaid ſervice, who attended the ſame accordingly, and a Meſſenger of the Court was ſent to Summon the ſaid Mr. *Broughton*.

Mr. *Aske*, Mr. *Steel*, Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Cooke* are appointed Councel in the behalf of the Commonwealth, to prepare and proſecute the Charge againſt the King according to the Act of the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament in that behalf, and in particular, the Court did appoint Mr. *Steel*, Attorney, and Mr. *Cooke*, Solicitor, to take care thereof. And the Act for Conſtituting the ſaid Court, was ordered to be tranſcribed, and delivered to the ſaid Councel; which was done accordingly.

Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Millington*, Mr. *Garland*, Mr. *Marten*, Mr. *Tho. Challoner*, Sir *John Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Mildmay*, or any two of them are appointed a Committee to conſider of all circumſtances in mat-

ter of order and method for the carrying on and managing the Kings Tryal, and for that purpoſe to adviſe with the Councel aſſigned, to prove the Charge againſt the King, and to make Report therein, the next Sitting, and the care of the buſineſs is particularly recommended to Mr. *Love.*

Edward Dendy Serjeant at Arms, made return of the Precept of the Eighth inſtant, for Proclaiming the Sitting of the Court, which was received; the ſaid Serjeant *Dendy* having Proclaimed the ſame by the ſound of Trumpet in *Weſtminſter Hall*, as alſo at the *Old Exchange*, and in *Cheapſide.*

Edward Dendy Serjeant at Arms, is appointed Serjeant at Arms, to attend the ſaid Court; Mr. *John King* is appointed Cryer of the ſaid Court.

The Court having thus made preparations for the ſaid Tryal (during all which time they ſate private) the doors are now opened for all parties, that had any thing to do there to give their attendance.

Three Proclamations being made by the Cryer, the Act for conſtituting the ſaid Court, was openly read, and the Court called, the Commiſſioners preſent, were as before-named.

The Commiſſioners that were abſent, were ordered to be ſummoned to attend the ſaid Service, and Summons were iſſued forth accordingly.

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till *Fryday*, Jan. 12*th.* at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, to the ſame place.

Januarii 12, 1648.

At which time the Commiſſioners Preſent were as after-named.

Die Veneris, 12 Januarii, 1648. *Painted Chamber.*

Commiſſioners Preſent.

Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;
Sir *John Danvers*.
Thomas Hammond, Eſq;
Peregr. Pelham, Eſq;
Herbert Morley, Eſq;
James Temple, Eſq;
William Say, Eſq;
John Huſon, Eſq;
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
John Bradſhaw, Serj. at Law.
Gilbert Millington, Eſq.
John Moore, Eſq;
John Brown, Eſq;
John Fry, Eſq;
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Kt.
Adrian Scroope, Eſq;
Thomas Challoner, Eſq;
Thomas Pride, Eſq;
John Liſle, Eſq;
Owen Roe, Eſq;
Thomas Scot, Eſq;
John Jones, Eſq;
John Carew, Eſq;
John Fagg, Eſq;
Henry Marten, Eſq;
John Blackiſtone, Eſq;
John Dove, Eſq;
Henry Smith, Eſq;
John Ven, Eſq;
John Downs, Eſq;
Nicholas Love, Eſq;
Thomas Harriſon, Eſq;
John Berkſtead, Eſq;
With divers more.

Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, upon ſpecial Summons, attended this Court, being one of the Commiſſioners thereof, and being according to former Order, called to take his place of Preſident of the ſaid *Court*, made an earneſt Apology for himſelf to be excuſed; but therein not prevailing, in obedience to the Commands and Deſires of this Court, he ſubmitted to their Order, and took place accordingly; and thereupon the ſaid Court Ordered concerning him as followeth, *viz. That* John Bradſhaw, *Serjeant at Law, who is appointed Preſident of this Court, ſhould be called by the Name, and have the Title of* Lord Preſident, *and that as well without, as within the ſaid Court, during the Commiſſion and Sitting of the ſaid Court*: Againſt which Title he preſſed much to be heard to offer his Exceptions, but was therein over-ruled by the Court.

Mr.

Mr. *Andrew Broughton* attended according to former Order, and it was thereupon again Ordered, That *Andrew Broughton* and *John Phelpes* Gent. be, and they are hereby conſtituted Clerks of the ſaid Court, and enjoyned to give their Attendance, from time to time accordingly.

Ordered, *That the Councel aſſigned, or ſuch as They, or any of Them ſhall appoint, ſhall have power to ſearch for all Records and Writings concerning the King's Tryal, and to take into their cuſtody, or order the producing of all ſuch Records, and Papers, or Copies thereof, by any Clerk or other Perſon whatſoever, at or before the ſaid Tryal, as they ſhall judge requiſite, the Said Councel giving a Note under their Hands of their Receipt of all ſuch* Original Books, *and* Papers, *which they ſhall ſo take into their cuſtody. And that the ſaid Councel ſhall have power to ſend for ſuch perſon or perſons at or before the ſaid Tryal, and to appoint by VVriting under their Hands, their Attendance for the Service of the State in this Buſineſs, as they ſhall think requiſite, requiring all Perſons concerned, to yield Obedience thereunto at their perils.*

Sir *Hardreſs VValler* Knight, and Col. *Harriſon* are Ordered to deſire the Lord General from time to time to appoint ſufficient Guards, to attend and guard the ſaid Court during their Sitting.

Ordered, *That Col.* Tichbourne, *Col.* Roe, *Mr.* Blackiſtone, *and Mr.* Fry, *Members of this Court, ſhall and do make Preparations for the Tryal of the King,* That it may be performed in a Solemn Manner; *and that they take care for other neceſſary Proviſions and Accommodations in and about that Tryal, and are to appoint and command ſuch Workmen in and to their Aſſiſtance, as they ſhall think fit.*

Mr. *Love* Reporteth from the Committee appointed *Jan.* 10*th.* inſtant, to conſider of the Circumſtances in Matters of Order for Tryal of the King: And it is thereupon Ordered, *That in managing the Proceedings in Open Court at the time of the King's Tryal, none of the Court do ſpeak, but the* Preſident *and* Councel, *and in caſe of any Difficulty ariſing to any*

any one, that he ſpeak not to the Matter openly, but deſire the Preſident *that the Court may pleaſe to Adviſe.* By which Order, it is not intended that any of the Commiſſioners be debarred at the Examination of any Witneſs, to move the Lord Preſident to propound ſuch Queſtion to the Witneſs as ſhall be thought meet for the better diſquiſition and finding out of the Truth.

Ordered, *That there ſhall be a Marſhal to attend this Court, if there be cauſe.*

Ordered, *That the Lord Preſident and Councel do manage the Tryal againſt the King, according to Inſtructions to be given them by the Court; and that the Committee for conſidering of all circumſtances for the managing of the King's Trial, do conſider of Rules and Inſtructions in that behalf, and are to conſult with the Councel, and addreſs themſelves to the Lord Preſident for Advice in the Premiſes.*

Ordered, *That the Councel do bring in the Charge againſt the King on* Monday *next.*

The Committee for conſidering of the Circumſtances of Order for the King's Trial, together with Sir Hardreſs Waller, *Col.* Whaley, *Mr.* Scot, *Col.* Tichbourne, *Col.* Harriſon, *Lieut. Gen.* Cromwell, and *Col.* Deane, *are appointed to conſider of the place for Trying the King, and make Report to morrow in the Afternoon, and are to meet to morrow Morning in the Inner Court of VVards, at Nine of the Clock, and who elſe of the Court pleaſe may be there.*

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till the Morrow in the Afternoon at Two of the Clock.

Sabbathi, 13 Jan. 1648.

Proclamation being made, and all Parties Concerned, required to give Attendance, the Court is called openly.

Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.
Oliver Cromwel, Eſq;
Henry Ireton, Eſq;
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Kt.
Edward Whaley, Eſq;
Thomas Pride, Eſq;
Iſaac Ewer, Eſq;
Sir *John Danvers*.
Sir *Gregory Norton*.
William Purefoy, Eſq;
John Blackiſtone, Eſq;
Gilbert Millington, Eſq;
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
John Hutchinſon, Eſq;
William Goff, Eſq;
Cornelius Holland, Eſq;
John Carew, Eſq;
Thomas Challoner, Eſq;
Algernon Sydney, Eſq;
William Say, Eſq;
John Fagg, Eſq;
Francis Laſſels, Eſq;
Valentine Wauton, Eſq;
Henry Smith, Eſq;
Humphrey Edwards, Eſq;
John Fry, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Bar.
William Heveningham, Eſq;
John Dove, Eſq;
John Venn, Eſq;
Tho. Scot, Eſq;
John Downes, Eſq;
Adrian Scroope, Eſq;
John Liſle, Eſq;
Auguſtine Garland, Eſq;
John Dixwell, Eſq;
Daniel Blagrave, Eſq;
John Browne, Eſq;

The Court being to make further preparations for the King's Tryal, ſit private. The Serjeant at Arms is Authorized to employ ſuch other Meſſengers as ſhall be needful for the ſervice of the Court, giving in their Names to the Clerks of this Court.

Ordered, *That the Serjeant at Arms do ſearch and ſecure the Vaults under the* Painted Chamber, *taking ſuch Aſſiſtance therein from the Souldiery as ſhall be needful.*

Mr. *Garland* reporteth from the Committee for conſidering of the place for the King's Trial; and the Court thereupon Ordered, *That the ſaid Tryal of the King ſhall be in* Weſtminſter-Hall; *That the Place for the King's Tryal, ſhall be where the Courts of* King's Bench *and* Chan-

Chancery, *ſit in* **Weſtminſter-Hall,** *and that the Partitions between the ſaid two Courts, be therefore taken down; and that the Committee for making Preparations for the King's Tryal, are to take care thereof accordingly.*

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till *Monday* **at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, to this Place.**

Lunæ, 15 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all Parties concerned, are required to give Attendance.

The Court is called openly.

Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

John Dean, Eſq;
John Berkſtead, Eſq;
Iſaac Ewer, Eſq;
Robert Lilbourn, Eſq;
Thomas Hamond, Eſq;
Edward Whaley, Eſq;
Thomas Pride, Eſq;
Thomas Lord *Grey* of *Groby*.
William Lord *Mounſon*.
Sir *John Danvers*.
Sir *Tho. Maleverer*, Bar.
Sir *Tho. Wroth*.
Robert Wallop, Eſq;
Henry Martin, Eſq;
William Purefoy, Eſq;
Gilbert Millington, Eſq;
Edmond Ludlow, Eſq;
John Hutchinſon, Eſq;
Adrian Scroope, Eſq;
John Okey, Eſq;
John Huſon, Eſq;
Peregrine Pelham, Eſq;
Thomas Challoner, Eſq;
John Moore, Eſq;
John Aldred, Eſq;
Henry Smith, Eſq;
James Challoner, Eſq;
Humphrey Edwards, Eſq;
Vincent Potter, Eſq;
Auguſtine Garland, Eſq;
James Temple, Eſq;
Daniel Blagrave, Eſq;
John Blackiſtone, Eſq;
Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;
Robert Tichbourne, Eſq;
John Jones, Eſq;
John Downs, Eſq;
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*.
Thomas Horton, Eſq;
Henry Ireton, Eſq;
Algernon Sydney, Eſq;
Peter Temple, Eſq;
Nicholas Love, Eſq;
Valentine Wauton, Eſq;
John Liſle, Eſq;
John Venn, Eſq;
Cornelius Holland, Eſq;
Thomas Scot, Eſq;
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Herbert Morley, Eſq;
Miles Corbet, Eſq;
John Fry, Eſq;
William Goff, Eſq;
John Fagg, Eſq;
John Carew, Eſq;
Sir *Henry Mildmay*,
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.

58 Commiſſioners preſent.

Here the Court ſit private. The

The Councel attended, and preſented to the Court the Draught of a Charge againſt the King: which being read, the Court appointed Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Mr. *Millington*, Mr. *Marten*, Col. *Harvey*, Mr. *Challoner*, Col. *Harriſon*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Say*, or any three of them to be a Committee, to whom the Councel might reſort for their further Advice concerning any thing of difficulty in relation to the Charge againſt the King; who were likewiſe with the Councel to compare the Charge againſt him, with the Evidence, and to take care for the preparing and fitting the Charge for the Courts more clear Proceedings in the Buſineſſes; as likewiſe to adviſe of ſuch general Rules as are fit for the Expediting the Buſineſs of the ſaid Court, and to meet the Morrow Morning at Eight of the Clock in the *Queens Court*.

Col. *Ludlow*, Col. *Purefoy*, Col. *Hutchinſon*, Col. *Scroope*, Col. *Deane*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Huſon*, Col. *Pride*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Sir *William Conſtable*, together with the *Committee* for making Preparations for the King's Tryal, or any three of them are appointed a *Committee* to conſider of the manner of bringing the King tothe Court at his Tryal, and of the Place where he ſhall be kept and lodge at, during his ſaid Tryal; and to take conſideration of the ſecure Sitting of the ſaid Court, and placing the Guards that ſhall attend it, and are to meet to morrow morning at Eight of the clock in the Inner *Star-Chamber*.

The Court taking Notice of the Nearneſs of *Hilary*-Term, and neceſſity they apprehended of Adjourning it in regard of the King's Tryal, thereupon were of Opinion, that it is fit that a Fortnight of the ſaid Term be Adjourned, and Mr. *Liſle* is deſired to move the Houſe therein.

Three Proclamations

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till *Wedneſday* next at Eight in the Morning.

Mer-

Mercurii, 17 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all Parties concerned, are required to give Attendance.

The Court is called.

Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;
Edward Whaley, Eſq;
Thomas Lord *Grey* of *Groby*.
Sir *John Danvers*.
Sir *Tho. Maleverer*, Bar.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*.
John Blackiſtone, Eſq;
John Berkſtead, Eſq;
Sir *William Conſtable*.
John Hutchinſon.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huſon.
Auguſtine Garland.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
John Brown.
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Liſter.
John Jones.
Vincent Potter.
Daniel Blagrave.
William Say.
Nicholas Love.
Robert Lilbourne.
William Goffe.
John Carew.
Thomas Pride.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Moore.
Francis Laſſels.
Henry Smith.
James Challoner.
Humphrey Edwards.
John Fry.
Sir *Gregory Norton*.
John Venn.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
Iſaac Ewers.
Cornelius Holland.
Sir *John Bourchier*.
Edmond Ludlow.
Edmond Harvey.
Edmond Wild.
Thomas Heath.
William Heveningham.
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Liſle.

56 Commiſſioners preſent.

Ordered, *That the Commiſſioners of this Court, who have not hitherto appeared, be ſummoned by Warrants under the Hands of the Clerks of this Court, to give their Perſonal Attendance at this Court, to perform the Service to which they are by Act of the Commons of* England *Aſſembled in Parliament, appointed and required.*

Ordered, *That the* Serjeant at Arms *attending this Court, or his Deputy do forthwith Summon all the aforeſaid Commiſſioners making default, who reſide or dwell within twenty Miles of* London.

Particular Warrants to every one of them, were accordingly iſſued forth for their Attendance.

Upon Report made by Col. *Hutchinſon*, from the *Committee* to conſider of the manner of bringing the King to Tryal, *&c.* the *Court* Order as followeth, *viz.*

Ordered, *That Sir* Robert Cotton's *Houſe be the place where the King ſhall lodge during his Tryal.*

That, *the Chamber in Sir* Robert Cotton's *Houſe next the Study, there ſhall be the King's Bed-Chamber.*

That, *the Great Chamber before the ſaid Lodging-Chamber, be for the King's Dining-Room, and that a Guard conſiſting of Thirty Officers and other choice Men, do always attend the King; who are to attend him at his Lodging above Stairs, and that Two of the ſaid Thirty do always attend in his Bed-Chamber.*

That, *Place for a Court of Guard for* 200 *Foot-Soldiers, be built in Sir* Robert Cotton's *Garden, near the Water-ſide.*

That, *Ten Companies of Foot be conſtantly upon the Guards for ſecuring Sir* Robert Cotton's *Houſe, and thoſe Companies to be Quartered in the Court of* Requeſts, *the* Painted Chamber, *and other neceſſary Places thereabouts.*

That, *the Paſſage that cometh out of the* Old Palace *into* Weſtminſter-Hall, *be made up at the Entrance of the ſaid Paſſage next the ſaid Guard.*

That, *the top of the Stairs at the Court of* Wards Door, *have a croſs Barr made to it.*

That, *the King be brought out of Sir* Robert Cotton's *Houſe to his Tryal, the lower way into* Weſtminſter-Hall, *and ſo brought to the Barr in the Face of the Court, attended by the above-ſaid Guard above Stairs.*

That, *Two Rayls of about forty foot diſtance from the Place where this Court ſhall Sit in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *be made croſs the ſaid Hall; for the effectual and ſubſtantial doing whereof, this Court do refer it to the care of the Committee appointed to conſider of the manner of bringing the King*

King to Tryal; who are likewiſe to take care for raiſing the Floor in ſuch part of the Hall as they ſhall think fit, for placing of the Guards; and that a Rayl or Rayls from the Court down to the Hall-Gate, be made in ſuch manner as they ſhall think fit on the Common-Pleas *ſide, to keep the People from the Soldiers.*

That, *there be Guards ſet upon the Leads, and other places that have Windows to look into the Hall.*

That, *the General be deſired from time to time to ſend and appoint convenient Guards of Horſe for the convenient Sitting of the Court.*

That, *Twenty Officers, or other Gentlemen do attend upon the Lord Preſident from time to time, to and from this Court through* Weſtminſter-Hall.

That, *the Officers of the Ordnance do ſend unto this Court 200 Halberts or Partizans lying within the Tower of* London, *for the Arming of the Guards that are to attend this Court.*

That, *at the time of the Tryal of the King, the Commiſſioners do before their Sitting in the Court, meet in the* Exchequer-Chamber, *and do from thence come up the Hall into the Court.*

That, *all Back-doors from the Houſe called* Hell, *be ſtopt up during the Kings Tryal.*

That, *Lodgings be prepared for the* Lord Preſident *at Sir* Abraham Williams's *Houſe in the New* Palace-Yard, *during the Sitting of this Court, and that all Proviſions and Neceſſaries be provided for his Lordſhip.*

That, *Sir* Henry Mildmay, *Mr.* Holland, *and Mr.* Edwards *do take care for providing all Proviſions and Neceſſaries for the King, during his Tryal.*

That, *Sir* Henry Mildmay, *Mr.* Holland, *and Mr.* Edwards *do likewiſe take care for all Neceſſaries for the* Lord Preſident.

Ordered, *That the Committee for conſidering of the manner of bringing the King to Tryal, do conſider what Habits the Officers of this Court ſhall have, who are to adviſe with ſome Heralds at Arms therein, and concerning the Ordering of the ſaid Officers.*

That, *a Sword be carried before the* Lord Preſident *at the Tryal of the King.*

That,

That, *John Humphreys*, Eſq; *do bear the Sword before the* Lord Preſident.

That, *a Mace or Maces together with a Sword, be likewiſe carried before the* Lord Preſident.

This Court doth Adjourn it ſelf to Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Jan.* 17. 1648. *Poſt Meridiem.*

Three Proclamations.

The Court is cleared of Strangers, and they ſit private.

The Charge againſt the King, is preſented by the Councel, and Ordered to be re-committed to the Committee appointed for Advice with the Councel concerning the Charge againſt the King, who are to contract the ſame, and fit it for the Courts proceeding thereupon, according to the Act of Parliament in that behalf. And the ſame Committee are likewiſe to take care for the King's coming to *Weſtminſter* to Tryal at ſuch time as to them ſhall ſeem meet, and Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwell* is added to the ſaid Committee, and the Councel are to attend this Court with the ſaid Charge to morrow at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; and thereupon,

Ordered, *That the Committee for Conſidering of the manner of bringing the King to Tryal, do meet to Morrow Morning at Eight of the Clock in the* Exchequer-Chamber.

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till the Morrow at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, to the ſame Place.

Jovis,

Jovis, 18 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations made.

Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.
Edward Whalley.
Tho. Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Bar.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
John Berkſtead.
John Blackiſtone.
Sir *William Conſtable.*
John Hutchinſon.
Robert Tichbourne.
Cornelius Holland.
John Moore.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
Thomas Hammond.
John Carew.
William L. *Mounſon.*
John Huſon.
Thomas Pride.
William Cawley.
Henry Smith.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Wogan.
George Fleetwood.
Francis Laſſels.
Adrian Scroope.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Fry.
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Humphrey Edwards.
John Venn.
William Purefoy.
Simon Meyne.
John Browne.
Herbert Morley.

Here the Court ſit private.

Col. *Tichbourne*, one of the Commiſſioners of this Court, informeth the Court, that he was with Mr. *Steel*, Attorney of this Court, and found him in his Bed very ſick, and by reaſon thereof, not like to attend, as yet, the Service of this Court according to former Order; and deſired him the ſaid Colonel, to ſignifie, that he the ſaid Mr. *Steel* no way declineth the Service of the ſaid Court, out of any diſaffection to it, but profeſſeth himſelf to be ſo clear in the Buſineſs, that if it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore him, he ſhould manifeſt his good Affection to the ſaid Cauſe, and that it is an addition to his Affliction, that he cannot attend this Court, to do that Service that they have expected from him, and as he deſires to perform.

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till to morrow Two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Veneris, 19 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations. *The Court called openly.*

The Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident.*

Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Knight.
Thomas Harriſon.
Edward Whalley.
Iſaac Ewers.
William Lord *Mounſon.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir Thomas Maleverer Bar.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
William Heveningham.
William Purefoy.
John Barkſtead
John Blackiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Huſon.
Cornelius Holland.
John Jones.
Peregr. Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
Algernon Sydney.
William Say.
Francis Laſſells.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
John Fry.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
John Dove.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
John Liſle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
John Brown.
John Okey.
William Goffe.
John Carew.

Here the Court ſate private.

Col. *Hutchinſon* Reporteth from the Committee appointed to conſider of the Habits of the Officers, and it is thereupon,

Ordered, *That Three Gowns be Provided for three Uſhers, and Three Cloaks for Three Meſſengers of this Court.*

Mr. *Millington* reporteth from the Committee for Advice with the Councel concerning the Charge againſt

gainſt the King, that the Councel have perfected the Charge, and are ready to preſent it. He likewiſe reporteth the Draught of an Order, whereby the Charge may, by the Command of this Court, be exhibited together with a Form of Words; the Effect whereof the Committee think fit to be pronounced by him that this Court ſhall appoint ſo to exhibit the ſaid Charge: Which ſaid Order and Form of Words the Court have with ſome Alterations agreed unto, as followeth;

It is Ordered, *That Mr.* Attorney, *and in his abſence, Mr.* Sollicitor *do in the behalf of the People of* England, *exhibit and bring into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes againſt* CHARLES STUART *King of* England, *and charge him thereupon in the behalf aforeſaid.*

The Form of Words are as followeth;

My Lord,

According to an Order of this High Court to me directed for that purpoſe, I do, in the Name, and on the behalf of the People of England, *exhibit and bring into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, whereof I do accuſe* CHARLES STUART *King of* England, *here preſent. And I do, in the Name, and on the behalf aforeſaid, deſire the ſaid Charge may be received accordingly, and due Proceedings had thereupon.*

The Councel likewiſe, according to Mr. *Millington*'s Report, preſent a Draught of the Charge againſt the King; which was read the firſt, and ſecond, and third time, and referred back to the ſaid Councel, to make ſome ſmall Amendments as to the Form thereof.

Ordered, *That Commiſſary Gen.* Ireton, *Col.* Whalley, *Col.* Harriſon, *Sir* Hardreſs Waller, *or any two of them, do appoint the Thirty Perſons that are by Order of the* 17th. *Inſtant, to attend the King, and the Twenty that are to attend the* Lord Preſident.

Ordered,

Ordered, *That the Serjeant at Arms do ſecure Mr.* Squibb's *Gallery by ſuch ways and means as he ſhall conceive meet.*

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till Nine of the Clock to morrow morning.

Sabbathi, 20 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations, and Attendance commanded.

Ordered, *That Sir* Henry Mildmay *be deſired to deliver unto* John Humphreys *Eſq; the Sword of State in his Cuſtody; which ſaid Sword the ſaid Mr.* Humphreys *is to bear before the* Lord Preſident *of this Court.*

The Court being ſate as aforeſaid, before they engaged in further Buſineſs, the Serjeant at Arms of the Houſe of *Commons* came thither, and acquainted the Court, that the Houſe wanted their Members that were of that Court; the Court thereupon Adjourned till twelve of the Clock the ſame day.

The Court accordingly met at twelve of the Clock.

Three Proclamations made.

Commiſſioners preſent.

Painted Chamber, 20 Jan. 1648.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

Tho. L. *Grey* of *Groby.*
Henry Martin.
Oliver Crowwell.
Henry Ireton.
Auguſtine Garland.
Thomas Challoner.
Nicholas Love.
William Cawley.
John Venn.
William Purefoy.
John Barkſtead.
James Challoner.
Peter Temple.
Tho. Harriſon.
Robert Tichbourne.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Sir *Tho. Maleverer*, Bar.
Daniel Blagrave.
Owen Roe.
Thomas Wogan.
William Say.
Francis Laſſels.
John Jones.
Sir *John Bourchier.*
John Carew.

John

John Dewnes.
John Fry.
Sir *Michael Liveſey.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Mr. *Millington.*
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
John Blakiſtone.
John Huſon.
Humphrey Edwards.
Iſaac Pennington Ald. *of* Lond.
John Brown.
Edw. Whalley.
John Okey.
Thomas Pride.
Adrian Scroope.
Valentine Wauton.
Tho. Hamond.
James Temple.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Liſter.
Edmond Ludlow.
Simon Meyne.
Thomas Scot.
Edmond Harvy.
William Lord *Mounſon.*
Henry Smith.
Sir *William Conſtable.*
Iſaac Ewers.
Sir *Henry Mildmay.*
Anthony Stapeley.

Here the Court ſate private.

Ordered, *That the Form and Method of the Courts Proceeding unto, and in the reading of the Commiſſion by which they Sit, ſending for, and bringing in the Priſoner to the Bar, acquainting him in brief with the cauſe of his bringing thither, receiving and reading the Charge, and demanding what the Priſoner ſays thereto, be referred to the diſcretion of the* Lord Preſident; *as alſo, That in caſe the Priſoner ſhall in Language or Carriage towards the Court, be inſolent, outragious, or contemptuous, that it be left to the* Lord Preſident *to reprehend him therefore, and admoniſh him of his Duty, or to command the taking away of the Priſoner, and if he ſee cauſe, to withdraw or adjourn the Court. But as to the Priſoners putting off his Hat, the Court will not inſiſt upon it for this day; and that if the King deſire time to Anſwer, the* Lord Preſident *is to give him time.*

Ordered, *Upon the* Lord Preſident's *Deſire and Motion, That Mr.* Liſle *and Mr.* Say, *Commiſſioners of this Court, be Aſſiſtants to the* Lord Preſident; *and for that purpoſe, it is Ordered, that they ſit near the* Lord Preſident *in Court.*

Mr. Sollicitor *preſented the Charge againſt the King ingroſſed in Parchment, which was read, and being by Mr.* Sollicitor *Signed, was returned to him to be exhibited againſt the King, in his preſence in open Court. And thereupon the Court Adjourned it ſelf forthwith to the Great Hall in* Weſtminſter.

The Manner of the Tryal of Charles Stuart *King of* England.

ON *Saturday*, being the 20*th.* Day of *January*, 1648. the *Lord Preſident* of the *High Court of Juſtice*, his two Aſſiſtants, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners of the ſaid Court, according to the Adjournment of the ſaid Court from the *Painted Chamber*, came to the Bench, or Place prepared for their Sitting, at the Weſt End of the Great Hall at *Weſtminſter*; divers Officers of the ſaid Court, one and twenty Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword and Mace marching before them up into the Court, where the *Lord Preſident*, in a crimſon Velvet Chair fixed in the midſt of the Court, placed himſelf, having a Desk with a crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him: the reſt of the Members placing themſelves on each ſide of him, upon ſeveral Seats or Benches prepared, and hung with Scarlet for that purpoſe. The *Lord Preſident*'s two Aſſiſtants ſitting next of each ſide of him, and the two Clerks of the Court placed at a Table ſomewhat lower, and covered with a *Turky* Carpet; upon which Table was alſo laid the Sword and Mace, the ſaid Guard of Partizans dividing themſelves on each ſide of the Court before them.

Three Proclamations are made for all perſons that were Adjourned over thither, to draw near.

The Court being thus ſate, and Silence enjoyned, the Great Gate of the Hall was ſet open, to the intent that all perſons (without exception) deſirous to ſee or hear, might come unto it: upon which the Hall was preſently filled, and Silence again ordered and proclaimed.

After Silence proclaimed as aforeſaid, the Act of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Juſtice for Trying and Judging of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, was openly read by one of the Clerks of the Court.

The

The Act being read, the Court was called, every Commiſſioner preſent, thereupon riſing to his Name.

Commiſſioners preſent.

Weſtminſter-Hall, Jan. 20. 1648.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident.*

Oliver Cromwell,
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harriſon.
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewer.
Tho. Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
William Lo. *Mounſon.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Baronet.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
Iſaac Pennington Ald. of *Lond.*
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Berkſtead
John Blackiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Liſle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Auguſtine Garland.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huſon.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Thomas Liſter.
Peregr. Pelham.
Francis Allen.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
William Say.
John Aldred.
Francis Laſſells.
Henry Smith.
James Challoner.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
John Fry.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
Edmund Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downs.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
James Temple.
Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Brown.

This done, the Court command the Serjeant at Arms to ſend for the Priſoner; and thereupon, Col. *Thomlinſon*, who had the Charge of the Priſoner, within a quarter of an hours ſpace brought him, attended by Col. *Hacker*, and two and thirty Officers with Partizans,

tizans, guarding him to the Court, his own Servants immediately attending him.

Being thus brought up in the Face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms with his Mace receives him, and conducts him ſtraight to the Bar, having a crimſon Velvet Chair ſet before him. After a ſtern looking upon the Court and the People in the Galleries on each ſide of him, he places himſelf in the Chair, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwiſe ſhewing the leaſt reſpect to the Court; but preſently riſeth up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left ſide, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right ſide of the ſaid great Hall, the Guard that attended him, in the mean time dividing themſelves on each ſide the Court, and his own Servants following him to the Bar, ſtand on the left hand of the Priſoner.

The Priſoner having again placed himſelf in his Chair, with his Face towards the Court, and Silence being again ordered and proclaimed, the *Lord Preſident* in the Name of the Court, addreſſed himſelf to the Priſoner, acquainting him, *That the Commons of* England *Aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply ſenſible of the Evils and Calamities that had been brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent Blood that had been ſpilt in it, which was fixed upon him as the principal Author of it, had reſolved to make Inquiſition for this Blood, and according to the Debt they did owe to God, to Juſtice, the Kingdom, and themſelves, and according to that Fundamental Power that reſted, and Truſt repoſed in them by the People, other Means failing through his Default, had reſolved to bring him to Tryal and Judgment, and had therefore conſtituted that Court of Juſtice, before which he was then brought, where he was to hear his Charge, upon which the Court would proceed according to Juſtice.*

Hereupon, Mr. *Cooke*, Sollicitor for the Common-wealth, ſtanding within a Bar, with the reſt of the Councel for the Common-wealth on the right hand of the Priſoner, offered to ſpeak; but the Priſoner, having a Staff in his hand, held it up, and ſoftly laid it upon the ſaid Mr. *Cooke*'s Shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold; nevertheleſs, the *Lord Preſident*

ſident ordering him to go on, Mr. *Cooke* did according to the Order of the Court, to him directed, in the Name, and on the behalf of the People of *England*, exhibit a Charge of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, and did therewith accuſe the ſaid *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*; praying in the Name, and on the behalf aforeſaid, that the Charge might be accordingly received and read, and due Proceedings had thereupon; and accordingly preferred a Charge in writing, which being received by the Court, and delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the *Lord Preſident* in the Name of the Court ordered it ſhould be read.

But the King interrupting the reading of it, the Court notwithſtanding commanded the Clerk to read it, acquainting the Priſoner that if he had any thing to ſay after, the Court would hear him; whereupon the Clerk read the Charge, the Tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz.*

A Charge of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes Exhibited to the *High Court of Juſtice* by *John Cooke* Eſq; Sollicitor General, appointed by the ſaid Court, for, and on the behalf of the People of *England*, againſt *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*.

THat *He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *being admitted King of* England, *and therein truſted with a limited Power to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe; and by his Truſt, Oath and Office, being obliged to uſe the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked Deſign to erect and uphold in himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, yea to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redreſs*

and remedy of miſgovernment, which by the Fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, were reſerved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments or National Meetings in Councel, He the ſaid CHARLES STUART, *for accompliſhment of ſuch his Deſigns, and for the Protecting of himſelf and his Adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the ſame Ends, hath Traiterouſly and Maliciouſly Levied War againſt the preſent Parliament, and the People therein repreſented; Particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth day of* June, *in the Year of our Lord* 1642. *at* Beverley *in the County of* York; *and upon or about the Thirtieth day of* July *in the Year aforeſaid, in the County of the City of* York; *and upon or about the four and twentieth day of* Auguſt *in the ſame Year, at the County of the Town of* Nottingham, *where, and when he ſet up his Standard of War; and alſo on or about the twenty third day of* Octob. *in the ſame Year, at* Edge-Hill *and* Keynton *Field, in the County of* Warwick; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* November *in the ſame Year, at* Brainford *in the County of* Middleſex; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* Auguſt, *in the Year of our Lord* 1642, *at* Caverſham-Bridge *near* Reading *in the County of* Berks; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* October *in the Year laſt mentioned, at or near the City of* Glouceſter; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* November *in the Year laſt mentioned, at* Newbury *in the County of* Berks; *and upon or about the thirty firſt day of* July *in the Year of our Lord* 1644. *at* Cropredy-Bridge *in the County of* Oxon; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* September *in the laſt Year mentioned, at* Bodwyn *and other Places near adjacent, in the County of* Cornwall; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* November *in the Year laſt mentioned, at* Newbury *aforeſaid; and upon or about the eighth day of* June *in the Year of our Lord* 1645. *at the Town of* Leiceſter; *and alſo upon the fourteenth day of the ſame Month in the ſame Year, at* Naſeby-Field *in the County of* Northampton. *At which ſeveral Times and Places, or moſt of them, and at many other Places in this Land, at ſeveral other times within the Years afore-mentioned; and in the Year of our Lord* 1646. *He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *hath cauſed and procured many Thouſands of the free People of this Nation to be ſlain, and by Diviſions, Parties,*

Parties, and Inſurrections within this Land, by Invaſions from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, He the ſaid CHARLES STUART *hath not only maintained and carried on the ſaid War both by Land and Sea, during the Year before mentioned, but alſo hath renewed or cauſed to be renewed the ſaid War againſt the Parliament and good People of this Nation, in this preſent Year* 1648. *in the Counties of* Kent, Eſſex, Surrey, Suſſex, Middleſex, *and many other Counties and Places in* England *and* Wales; *and alſo by Sea. And particularly He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *hath for that purpoſe given Commiſſion to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, beſides multitudes of other Perſons, many ſuch as were by the Parliament intruſted and employed for the ſafety of the Nation (being by him or his Angels corrupted to the betraying of their Truſt, and revolting from the Parliament) have had Entertainment and Commiſſion for the continuing and renewing of War and Hoſtility againſt the ſaid Parliament and People, as aforeſaid; By which cruel and unnatural Wars by him the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *Levied, Continued and Renewed as aforeſaid, much innocent Blood of the free People of this Nation hath been ſpilt, many Families have been undone, the Publick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decayed, vaſt Expence and Dammage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of this Land ſpoiled, ſome of them even to deſolation. And for further Proſecution of his ſaid evil Deſigns, He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *doth ſtill continue his Commiſſions to the ſaid Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters both* Engliſh *and Foreigners, and to the* E. *of* Ormond, *and to the* Iriſh *Rebels and Revolters aſſociated with him; from whom further Invaſions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the ſaid* CHARLES STUART.

All which wicked Deſigns, Wars and evil Practices of him the ſaid CHARLES STUART, *have been, and are carried on for the advancement and upholding of a Perſonal Intereſt of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himſelf and his Family, againſt the Publick Intereſt, Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice and Peace of the People of this Nation, by and for whom he was intruſted as aforeſaid.*

By

By all which it appeareth, that He the ſaid CHARLES STUART hath been, and is the Occaſioner, Author, and Continuer of the ſaid unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Dammages and Miſchiefs to this Nation acted and committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby.

And the ſaid *John Cooke* by Proteſtation ſaving on the behalf of the ſaid People of *England*, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge againſt the ſaid *CHARLES STUART*, and alſo of replying to the Anſwers which the ſaid *CHARLES STUART* ſhall make to the Premiſes, or any of them, or any other Charge that ſhall be ſo exhibited, doth for the ſaid Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the ſaid People of *England*, impeach the ſaid *CHARLES STUART*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a Publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*, and pray that the ſaid *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, may be put to anſwer all and every the Premiſes, and that ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Trials, Sentences and Judgments may be thereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.

Subſcribed, *John Cooke.*

The Priſoner, while the Charge was reading, ſate down in his Chair, looking ſometimes on the High Court, and ſometimes on the Galleries, and roſe again, and turned about to behold the Guards & Spectators, and after ſate down looking very ſternly, and with a Countenance not at all moved, till theſe words, *viz. CHARLES STUART to be a Tyrant, Traytor*, &c. were read; at which he laughed as he ſate in the face of the Court.

The Charge being read, the *Lord Preſident*, in the Name of the Court, demanded the Priſoner's Anſwer thereto.

But the Priſoner declining that, fell into a Diſcourſe of the late Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*, and demanded,

manded, *By what lawful Authority he was brought from the Iſle thither?* upbraiding the Court with the many unlawful Authorities in the World, inſtancing in Robbers and takers of Purſes, pleading his Kingſhip, and thereby a Truſt committed to him by God, by deſcent, which he ſhould betray, together with the Liberties of the People, in caſe he ſhould anſwer to an unlawful Power, which he charged the Court to be, and that *they were raiſed by an Uſurped Power*; and affirmed, that *He ſtood more for the Liberties of the People, than any of the Judges there ſitting*, and again demanded, *by what Authority he was brought thither?*

To which it was replied by the Court, *That had he been pleaſed to have obſerved what was declared to him by the Court at his firſt coming, and the Charge which he had heard read unto him, he might have informed himſelf by what Authority he was brought before them*; *namely*, By the Authority of the *Commons of* England *Aſſembled in* Parliament, *on the behalf of the People of* England: and did therefore again ſeveral times adviſe him *to conſider of a better Anſwer*; which he refuſed to do, but perſiſted in his Contumacy. Whereupon, the Court at length told him, That, *they did expect from him a Poſitive Anſwer to the Charge*; affirming their Authority, and giving him to underſtand, that *they were upon God's and the Kingdom's Errand, and that the Peace ſtood for, would be better had and kept when Juſtice was done, and that was their preſent Work*; and adviſed him ſeriouſly to *conſider what he had to do at his next appearance*; which was declared ſhould be upon *Monday* following, and ſo remanded him to his former Cuſtody.

The Priſoner all the time having kept on his Hat, departed, without ſhewing any the leaſt reſpect to the Court; but going out of the Bar, ſaid, *He did not fear that Bill*; pointing to the Table where the Sword and Charge lay.

The Priſoner being withdrawn, three Proclamations were made, and the Court Adjourned it ſelf to the *Painted Chamber* on *Monday* Morning then next, at Nine of the Clock; declaring, that from thence they intended to Adjourn to the ſame Place again.

But that the Reader may have the entire Relation of this deplorable Tragedy, I have from the moſt Authentick Prints inſerted at large the interlocutory Paſſages between the *King* and *Bradſhaw*, of which Mr. *Phelpes* in his *Journal*, gives only a ſuccinct Account; which take as follows:

His Majeſty with his wonted Patience, heard all theſe Slanders and Reproaches, ſitting in the Chair, and looking ſometimes on the Pretended Court, ſometimes up to the Galleries, and riſing again, turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators; then he ſate down with a Majeſtick and unmoved Countenance, and ſometimes ſmiling, eſpecially at thoſe Words [Tyrant, Traytor,] *and the like.*

Alſo the Silver Head of his Staff happened to fall off, at which he wondered; and ſeeing none to take it up, He ſtooped for it himſelf.

The Charge being read, Bradſhaw *began.*

Sir, You have now heard your Charge read, containing ſuch Matters as appear in it: You find that in the Cloſe of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons* of *England*, that you Anſwer to your Charge: The Court expects your Anſwer.

King. *I would know by what Power I am called hither. I was not long ago in the Iſle of* Wight, *how I came there, is a longer Story than I think is fit at this time for Me to ſpeak of: but there I entred into a Treaty with both Houſes of Parliament, with as much Publick Faith as its poſſible to be had of any People in the World, I Treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honeſtly and uprightly; I cannot ſay but they did very Nobly with Me: We were upon a Concluſion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority (I mean Lawful; There are many Unlawful Authorities in the World; Thieves and Robbers by the High-ways: but I would know by what Authority) I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place,*

place, and I know not what. And when I know by what Lawful Authority, I ſhall Anſwer.

Remember, I am your King, your Lawful King, and what Sins you bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land. Think well upon it, I ſay, think well upon it, before you go further from one Sin to a greater. Therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to anſwer. In the mean time, I ſhall not betray my Truſt; I have a Truſt committed to me by God, by old and lawful Deſcent, I will not betray it, to anſwer to a new unlawful Authority: Therefore reſolve me that, and you ſhall hear more of me.

Bradſhaw. If you had been pleaſed to have obſerved what was hinted to you by the Court at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you in the Name of the People of *England*, of which you are Elected King, to Anſwer.

King. *No,* Sir, *I deny that.*

Bradſhaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they muſt proceed.

King. *I do tell them ſo:* England *was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for near theſe thouſand Years: Therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither. I do ſtand more for the Liberty of my People, than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I will Anſwer it, otherwiſe I will not anſwer it.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, How really you have managed your Truſt, is known; your way of Anſwer is to interrogate the Court, which beſeems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. *Here is a Gentleman, Lieut. Col.* Cobbet, *ask him if he did not bring me from the Iſle of* Wight *by force. I do not come here as ſubmitting to the Court.*

I will ſtand as much for the Priviledge of the Houſe of Commons, *rightly underſtood, as any man here whatſoever: I ſee no Houſe of* Lords *here, that may conſtitute a* Parliament; *and the King too ſhould have been.*

Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the Publick Faith of the World?

Let

Let me ſee a Legal Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and I will anſwer.

Bradſhaw. Sir, You have propounded a Queſtion, and have been anſwered. Seeing you will not anſwer, the Court will conſider how to proceed. In the mean time, thoſe that brought you hither, are to take Charge of you back again.

The Court deſires to know whether this be all the Anſwer you will give, or no.

King. *Sir, I deſire that you would give me and all the World ſatisfaction in this. Let me tell you, It is not a ſlight thing you are about. I am ſworn to keep the Peace, by that Duty I owe to God and my Country; and I will do it to the laſt breath of my Body. And therefore you ſhall do well to ſatisfie, firſt, God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it. If you do it by an Uſurped Authority, you cannot anſwer it: There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account. Satisfie me in that, and I will anſwer; otherwiſe I betray my Truſt, and the Liberties of the People: And therefore think of that, and then I ſhall be willing: For I do avow, That it is as great a Sin to withſtand Lawful Authority, as it is to ſubmit to a Tyrannical, or any other ways Unlawful Authority. And therefore ſatisfie God, and Me, and all the World in that, and you ſhall receive my Anſwer. I am not afraid of the Bill.*

Bradſhaw. The Court expects you ſhould give them a final Anſwer. Their Purpoſe is to Adjourn till *Monday* next: If you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our Authority, we are ſatisfied with our Authority; and it is upon God's Authority and the Kingdoms; and that Peace you ſpeak of, will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent Work..

King. *For Anſwer, Let me tell you, you have ſhewn no* Lawful Authority *to ſatisfie any reaſonable man.*

Bradſhaw. That's in Your Apprehenſion; We are ſatisfied that are your Judges.

King. *'Tis not My Apprehenſion, nor Yours neither, that ought to decide it.*

Bradſhaw.

Bradſhaw. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

So commanding the Guard to take him away, His Majeſty only replied, *Well, Sir.*

And at his going down, pointing with his Staff toward the * Axe, He ſaid, *I do not fear that.*

**This muſt be a Miſtake for there was no Axe there; but it is* Bill *in* Phelps's *Journal; which* Bill *was the* Charge, *which the King meant, when now, as alſo before, he ſaid,* He did not fear that Bill.

As He went down the Stairs, the People in the Hall cried out, *God ſave the King*; notwithſtanding ſome were ſet there by the Faction to lead the Clamour for Juſtice.

Painted Chamber, 22 Jan. 1648.

Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

William Say.
John Downs.
Edward Whaley.
Francis Allen.
Sir *Tho. Maleverer*, Bar.
Valentine Wauton.
Peter Temple.
John Fry.
Thomas Scot.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Pride.
Auguſtine Garland.
John Venn.
Sir *John Bourchier.*
William Purefoy.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Iſaac Pennington Ald. of *Lond.*
Thomas Harriſon.
Edmund Harvey.
John Hutchinſon.
Oliver Cromwell.
Thomas Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
Robert Wallop.
James Temple.
Owen Roe.
Richard Deane.
William Goffe.
Francis Laſſels.
Edmond Ludlow.
William Cawley.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
Anthony Stapeley.
John Jones.
Nicholas Love.
John Carew.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. *of* Lond.
Iſaac Ewers.
John Huſon.
Cornelius Holland.
Humphrey Edwards.
Vincent Potter.
John Okey.
John Blackiſtone.
Thomas Hammond.
Daniel Blagrave.
William Heveningham.
Sir *Michael Liveſey.*
John Berkſtead.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Downes.

62 Commiſſioners preſent.

Adrian Scroope.
John Dixwell.
John Moore.
Robert Tichbourne.
James Challoner.
Gregory Clement.
William L. *Mounſon.*
Henry Marten.
Tho. Challoner.

Here the Court ſit private.

Ordered, *That the Committee for nominating the Officers of this Court, together with the Committee for nominating the Guards, do conſider of an Allowance for Diet of the Officers, and what other ſatisfaction they ſhall have for their Service.*

Col. *Harvey* informeth the Court, That he was deſired to ſignifie unto this Court, in the behalf of Mr. *John Corbet*, Member of this Court, that his abſence is not from any diſaffection to the Proceedings of this Court, but in regard of other eſpecial Employment that he hath in the Service of the State.

Here the Court conſidered of the King's Carriage on the *Saturday* before, and of all that had then paſſed on the Courts behalf, and approved thereof, as agreeing to their Senſe and Directions; and perceiving what the King aimed at, (*viz*) to bring in queſtion (if he could) the Juriſdiction of the Court, and the Authority whereby they ſate; and conſidering that he had not in the interim acknowledged them in any ſort to be a Court, or in any Judicial capacity to determine of his Demand and Plea, and that through their ſides he intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supream Authority of the *Commons* of *England*, in their Repreſentative; *The Commons Aſſembled in Parliament*, after Advice with their Councel Learned in both Laws, and mature Deliberation had of the Matter,

Reſolved, That the Priſoner ſhould not be ſuffered to bring theſe things in queſtion which he aimed at, touching that Higheſt Juriſdiction, whereof they might not make themſelves Judges, and from which there was no Appeal. And therefore Order and Direct, *viz.*

Ordered,

Ordered, *That in caſe the King ſhall again offer to fall into that Diſcourſe, the* Lord Preſident *do let him know, That the Court have taken into conſideration his Demands of the laſt Day, and that he ought to reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer,* That the *Commons of* England *Aſſembled in Parliament*, have Conſtituted this Court; whoſe Power may not, nor ſhould not be permitted to be *diſputed by him, and that they were reſolved he ſhould anſwer his Charge.*

That, *in caſe he ſhall refuſe to Anſwer, or acknowledge the Court, the* Lord Preſident *do let him know, that the Court will take it as a Contumacy, and that it ſhall be ſo Recorded.*

That, *in caſe he ſhall offer to Anſwer with a* Saving *Notwithſtanding of his pretended Prerogative, That the* Lord Preſident *do in the Name of the Court refuſe his Proteſt, and require his Poſitive Anſwer to the Charge.*

That, *in caſe the King ſhall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he ſhall then declare his intention to Anſwer; and that declaring ſuch his intention, a Copy be granted unto him.*

That, *in caſe the King ſhall ſtill perſiſt in his Contempt, the* Lord Preſident *do give Command to the Clerk to demand of the King in the Name of the Court, in theſe Words following,* viz.

CHARLES STUART, *King of* England, *You are accuſed in the behalf of the People of* England, *of diverſe High Crimes and Treaſons; which Charge hath been read unto You; The Court requires you to give a Poſitive Anſwer, whether You confeſs or deny the Charge, having determined, that You ought to Anſwer the ſame.*

Ordered, *That the Commiſſioners ſhall be called in open Court, at the Courts Sitting in the Hall, and that the Names of ſuch as appear ſhall be Recorded.*

Hereupon, the Court forthwith Adjourned it ſelf into *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

Weſt-

Weſtminſter-Hall, 22 Jan. 1648. *Poſt Merid.*

The Commiſſioners coming from the *Painted Chamber*, take their Place in the Publick Court in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as on *Saturday* before; and being ſate, and the Hall Doors ſet open,

Three Proclamations are made, for all Perſons that were Adjourned over to this time, to give their Attendance, and for all Perſons to keep Silence, upon pain of Impriſonment.

The Court is thereupon called.

Commiſſioners Preſent in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, 22 Jan. 1648.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

William Say.
John Liſle.
Oliver Cromwell,
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
Valentine Wauton.
Tho. Harriſon.
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewer.
Tho. Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
William L. *Mounſon.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Baronet.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Huſon.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
Robert Lilbourne.
John Jones.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
John Aldred.
Francis Laſſels.
Henry Smith.
James Challoner.
Gregory Clement.
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Peter Temple.
Robert Wallop.
William Heveningham.
Iſaac Pennington, Ald. of *Lond.*
Henry Martin.
William Pureſoy.
John Berkſtead.
William Tomlinſon.
John Blakiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Adrian Scroope.
John Deane.
John Okey.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.

Edmond

Edmond Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of *Lond.*
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Bar.
Auguſtine Garland.
John Dixwell.
James Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
Humphrey Edwards.

70 Commiſſioners preſent.

The Court being called, the Serjeant is commanded to fetch his Priſoner.

The King is again brought Priſoner to the Bar, as on *Saturday* before; Proclamation is made for Silence, whilſt Pleas of the Commonwealth were in hand, and Order given to the Captain of the Guard to take into his Cuſtody ſuch as ſhould diſturb the Court.

Mr. *Sollicitor* moved the Court, that the Priſoner might give a Poſitive Anſwer to his Charge, or otherwiſe that the Court would take the Matter of it *pro Confeſſo*, and proceed thereupon according to Juſtice; which being preſſed by the Court upon the Priſoner, and their Judgment again made known unto him, That he was to Anſwer his Charge, otherwiſe that his Contumacy would be recorded.

The Priſoner, that notwithſtanding, ſtill inſiſted upon his former Plea, and that the Court had no Power, nor the *Commons* of *England*, who had conſtituted it, to proceed againſt him; upon which, the Clerk of the Court, by Command, and according to former Order, required his Anſwer in the Form preſcribed: and the Priſoner ſtill refuſing to ſubmit thereto, his Default and Contempt were again Recorded, the Priſoner remanded, and the Court Adjourned it ſelf till the next day, being *Tueſday*, at Twelve of the Clock, to the *Painted Chamber*; withal, giving Notice, that from thence they intended to Adjourn to this Place again.

Sunday having been ſpent in Faſting and Seditious Preaching, according to the Mode of theſe Impious Hypocrites, who uſed to Preface Rebellion and Mur-

der with the Appearance of Religion; the Illuſtrious Sufferer was (as is before in *Phelps*'s Journal related) placed before the infamous Tribunal; vvhere their Mercenary Sollicitor *Cooke* opened the Tragick Scene thus, diſplaying his Talents of Impudence and Treaſon.

Cooke. *May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my* Lord Preſident, *I did at the laſt Court, in the behalf of the* Commons *of* England, *exhibit and give in to this Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes againſt the Priſoner at the Bar; whereof I do accuſe him in the Name of the People of* England; *and the Charge was read unto him, and his Anſwer required.* My Lord, *He was not pleaſed to give an Anſvver; but inſtead of anſvvering, did there diſpute the Authority of this* High Court. *My Humble Motion to this* High Court, *in the behalf of the Kingdom of* England, *is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a Poſitive Anſvver, either by vvay of Confeſſion or Negation; vvhich, if he ſhall refuſe to do, that then the Matter of Charge may be taken* pro confeſſo, *and the* Court *may proceed according to Juſtice.*

Bradſhavv. Sir, You may remember, at the laſt Court you vvere told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read againſt you, containing a Charge of *High Treaſon*, and other High Crimes againſt this Realm of *England*; you have heard likewiſe that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch Proceedings might be had, as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice: You were then pleaſed to make ſome Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither: You did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwered, That it was by Authority of the *Commons* of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to Account for thoſe High and Capital Miſdemeanors wherewith you were then charged.

Since that, the Court hath taken into conſideration what

what you then ſaid: they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you. They do expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny it: If you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom, to be made good againſt you. Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, that the vvhole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied vvith it; and therefore you are to loſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſvver thereunto.

King. *When I was here laſt, 'tis very true, I made that Queſtion; and if it were only my own particular Caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with the Proteſtation I made the laſt time I was here, againſt the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be Tryed by any Superior Juriſdiction on Earth: But it is not my Caſe alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the People of* England; *and do you pretend what you will, I ſtand more for their Liberties. For if Power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in* England *that can be ſure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own: Therefore, when that I came here, I did expect particular Reaſons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed againſt Me here; and therefore I am a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this Particular, becauſe the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative often is very hard to do: But ſince I cannot perſwade you to do it, I ſhall tell you my Reaſons as ſhort as I can.*

My Reaſons why in Conſcience, and the Duty I owe to God firſt, and my People next, for the Preſervation of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, I conceive I cannot anſwer this, till I be ſatisfied of the Legality of it.

All Proceedings againſt any Man whatſoever——

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt interrupt you; vvhich I vvould not do, but that vvhat you do, is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court of Juſtice. You are about to enter into Argument and Diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court, before vvhom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as an high Delin-

Delinquent: If you take upon you to diſpute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it; you are to ſubmit unto it, you are to give a punctual and direct Anſwer, whether you will anſwer your Charge or no, and what your Anſwer is.

King. *Sir, By your favour, I do not know the Forms of Law; I do know Law and Reaſon, though I am no Lawyer profeſſed: But I know as much Law as any Gentleman in* England, *and therefore, under favour, I do plead for the Liberties of the People of* England *more than you do; and therefore if I ſhould impoſe a Belief upon any man without Reaſons given for it, it were unreaſonable: But I muſt tell you, that by that Reaſon that I have, as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt interrupt you; you may not be permitted: You ſpeak of Law and Reaſon; it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon; and there is both againſt you.

Sir, The Vote of the *Commons* of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, it is the Reaſon of the Kingdom; and they are theſe too that have given that Law according to which you ſhould have Ruled and Reigned. *Sir*, You are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court; *Sir*, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. *I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent; but by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents, or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers againſt any Proceeding as Legal; and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reaſons: if you deny that, you deny Reaſon.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You have offered ſomething to the Court; I ſhall ſpeak ſomething unto you the Senſe of the Court. Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to diſpute that Point; you are concluded, you may not demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court; if you do, I muſt let you know that they over-rule your Demurrer: They ſit here by the Authority of the *Commons* of *England*, and all your Predeceſſors and you are reſponſible to them.

King.

King. *I deny that; ſhew me one Precedent.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You ought not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you. This Point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it: If you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have conſidered of their Juriſdiction, they do affirm their own Juriſdiction.

King. *I ſay,* Sir, *By your favour, that the* Commons *of* England *was never a Court of Judicature; I would know how they came to be ſo.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and theſe Diſcourſes.

Then the Clerk of the Court read,

CHARLES STUART, King of *England*, You have been accuſed on the behalf of the People of *England*, of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes; the Court have determined that you ought to Anſwer the ſame.

King. *I will Anſwer the ſame ſo ſoon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

Bradſhaw. If this be all that you will ſay, then, *Gentlemen*, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. *I do require that I may give in my Reaſons why I do not Anſwer; and give Me time for that.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, 'Tis not for Priſoners to require.

King. *Priſoners*, Sir! *I am not an ordinary Priſoner.*

Bradſhaw. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction: If you will not anſwer, we will give Order to Record your Default.

King. *You never heard my Reaſons yet.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, Your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction.

King. *Shew Me that Juriſdiction where Reaſon is not to be heard.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, We ſhew it you here, *The Commons of England*: and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the Pleaſure of the Court; and it may be, their final Determination.

King. *Shew Me where ever the* Houſe of Commons *was a Court of Judicature of that kind.*

Bradſhaw. Serjeant, Take away the Priſoner.

King. *Well*, Sir, *Remember that the King is not ſuffered to give in his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects,*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You are not to have Liberty to uſe this Language. How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England* and the World judge.

King. *Sir, Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took-----defended My ſelf with Arms: I never took up Arms againſt the People, but for the Laws.*

Bradſhaw. The Command of the Court muſt be obeyed: No Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

King. *Well, Sir.*

Then *Bradſhaw* Ordered the Default to be Recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Anſwer would be given to the Charge.

The King was Guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's *Houſe.*

The Court Adjourned to the *Painted Chamber* on *Tueſday* at Twelve of the Clock, and from thence they intend to Adjourn to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at which time all Perſons concerned are to give their Attendance.

His

His Majeſty not being ſuffered to deliver his Reaſons againſt the Juriſdiction of their Pretended Court, by word of Mouth, thought fit to leave them in Writing to the more impartial Judgment of Poſterity, as followeth;

HAving already made my Proteſtations, not only againſt the Illegality of this Pretended Court, but alſo, That no Earthly Power can juſtly call Me (*who am your King*) in queſtion, as a Delinquent; *I would not any more open My Mouth upon this Occaſion, more than to refer my ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I in this Caſe alone concerned: But the Duty I owe to God in the Preſervation of the True Liberty of My People, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent: For, how can any Free-born Subject of* England *call Life or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own, if Power without Right, dayly make New, and abrogate the Old Fundamental Law of the Land? Which I now take to be the preſent Caſe. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied Me concerning theſe Grounds which hinder Me to anſwer to your Pretended Impeachment: But ſince I ſee that nothing* I *can ſay, will move you to it* (*though* Negatives *are not ſo naturally proved as* Affirmatives) *yet* I *will ſhew you the Reaſon why* I *am confident you cannot Judge Me, nor indeed the meaneſt Man in* England: *For* I *will not* (*like you*) *without ſhewing a Reaſon, ſeek to impoſe a Belief upon My Subjects.*

There is no Proceeding juſt againſt any man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I *am moſt confident, This Days Proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for, on the contrary, The Authority of Obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which, if denied,* I *am ready inſtantly to prove.*

Hereabout I was ſtopt, and not ſuffered to ſpeak any more concerning *Reaſons.*

And for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That, Where the Word of a King is, There is Power; and who may ſay unto Him, What doſt Thou? *Eccl.* 8. 4.

8. 4. *Then for the Law of this* Land, I *am no leſs confident, That no Learned Lawyer will affirm, That,* An Impeachment can lie againſt the King; they all going in His Name: *And one of their Maxims is, That,* The King can do no Wrong. *Beſides, The Law upon which you ground your Proceedings, muſt either be Old or New; if Old, ſhew it; if New, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the* Houſe of Commons *can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf, (as is well knowvn to all Lavvyers)* I *leave to God and the World to judge: And it vvere full as ſtrange, that they ſhould pretend to make* Laws *vvithout* King or Lords Houſe, *to any that have heard ſpeak of the Lavvs of* England.

And admitting, but not granting, That the People of England's *Commiſſion could grant your* Pretended Power, I *ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the Queſtion of the* Tenth Man *in the Kingdom; and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the* Pooreſt Ploughman, *if you demand not his free Conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your* Pretended Commiſſion, *vvithout the Conſent at leaſt of the* Major Part *of every Man in* England, *of vvhatſoever Quality or Condition, vvhich* I *am ſure you never vvent about to ſeek; ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that* I *ſpeak not for My ovvn Right alone, as* I *am* your King, *but alſo for the true Liberty of all* My Subjects; *vvhich conſiſts not in the* Power of Government, *but in* Living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government, *as may give themſelves the beſt Aſſurance of their* Lives, *and* Property *of their* Goods. *Nor in this, muſt, or do* I *forget the* Privileges *of* Both Houſes *of* Parliament; *vvhich this Days Proceedings do not only* violate, *but likevviſe* occaſion *the greateſt Breach of their* Publick Faith, *that* (I *believe*) *ever vvas heard of; with which I am far from Charging the* Two Houſes; *for all* Pretended Crimes *laid againſt Me, bear Date long before this Treaty at* Newport; *in which,* I *having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the* Houſes *Agreement thereunto,* I *was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner; upon which account* I *am againſt My Will brought hither; vvhere, ſince* I *am come,* I

cannot

cannot but to My Power defend the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own juſt Right. Then, for any thing I can ſee, the Higher Houſe is totally excluded. And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known that the Major part of them are detained or deterred from Sitting; ſo as, if I had no other, this were ſufficient for Me to proteſt againſt the Lawfulneſs of your Pretended Court. *Beſides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt in My Thoughts; and what hopes of Settlement is there, ſo long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole Frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred Years? (nor will I ſay what will fall out, in caſe this lawleſs, unjuſt Proceeding againſt Me, do go on.) And believe it, the* Commons *of* England *will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late Years under the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *the King My Father, and My Self, until the beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any New. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed My Power hath totally changed the Ancient Government.*

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons why I cannot ſubmit to your *Pretended Authority*, without violating the Truſt which I have from God for the Welfare and Liberty of My People, I expect from you either clear Reaſons to convince My Judgment, ſhewing Me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will Anſwer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings.

This I intended to ſpeak in Weſtminſter-Hall *on* Monday, *January* 22. *but againſt Reaſon, was hindred to ſhew my Reaſons.*

Painted Chamber,

Martis, 23 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all Parties concerned required to give their Attendance.

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord President* of this Court.

John Liste.
William Say.
Sir *James Harrington*, Kt.
Francis Allen.
Henry Marten.
Thomas Scot.
Sir *Hardress Waller.*
Edm. Whalley.
John Venn.
Richard Deane.
John Huson.
Thomas Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
William Purefoy.
Daniel Blagrave.
Isaac Pennington Ald. of *Lond.*
Thomas Harrison.
Adrian Scroope.
Robert Lilburne.
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Cornelius Holland.
William Cawley.
Augustine Garland.
Nicholas Love.
Tho. Hamond.
John Moore
Edmond Harvey.
Thomas Pride.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Challoner.
Miles Corbet.
John Okey.

Sir *William Constable*, Bar.
Gilbert Millington.
Humphrey Edwards.
Anthony Stapeley.
Robert Tichbourne.
Sir *John Danvers.*
Simon Meyne.
Vincent Potter.
Oliver Cromwell.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Blackiston.
Sir *Henry Mildmay.*
John Hutchinson.
Peter Temple.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Michael Livesey*, Bar.
John Jones.
James Temple.
Isaac Ewers.
Sir *John Bourchier.*
John Fry.
Sir *Tho. Maleverer*, Bar.
Gregory Clement.
John Carew.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. *of* Lond.
John Dixwell.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Bar.
William Heveningham.
Valentine Wauton.
John Downs.
Owen Roe.

63 Commissioners present.

Here the Court sate private.

And taking into consideration the Proceeding of the last Court the last day, fully approved of what in

in their behalf had been then ſaid and done; and likewiſe taking into conſideration the Demeanor of the King at the ſaid Court, have notwithſtanding reſolved to try him once more, whether he will own the Court; and to that purpoſe,

Ordered, *That the* Lord Preſident *do acquaint the King, in caſe he ſhall continue contumacious, that he is to expect no further time; and that the* Lord Preſident *do therefore in the Name of the Court, require his Poſitive and Final Anſwer; and if he ſhall ſtill perſiſt in his obſtinacy, that the* Lord Preſident *give Command to the Clerk to read as followeth,* viz.

CHARLES STUART King of *England*, you are accuſed on the behalf of the People of *England*, of divers High Crimes and Treaſons; which Charge hath been read unto you: The Court now requires you to give your final and poſitive Anſwer by way of Confeſſion or Denial of the Charge.

Nevertheleſs, if the King ſhould ſubmit to anſwer, and deſire a Copy of his Charge, that it be granted him by the *Lord Preſident*; notwithſtanding, giving him to know, That the Court might in Juſtice forthwith proceed to Judgment for his former Contumacy and Failer to Anſwer, and that he be required to give his Anſwer to the ſaid Charge the next day at One of the Clock in the Afternoon. Whereupon,

The Court Adjourned to *Weſtminſter-Hall* forthwith.

Weſtminſter-

Westminster-Hall, 28 Jan. 1648. *Post Merid.*

Three Proclamations being made, and Attendance and Silence commanded as formerly,

The Court is thereupon called.

Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord President* of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardress Waller.*
Valentine Wauton.
Tho. Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewer.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
John Blakistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *William Constable*, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Sir *Michael Livesey*, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Tho. Challoner.
John Moore.
William Say.
John Dixwell.

71 Commissioners present.

Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Kt
Tho. Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
William L. *Mounson.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Bar.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
Sir *James Harrington*, Kt.
Robert Wallop.
William Heveningham.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of *Lond.*
John Aldred.
Henry Smith.
James Temple.
Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Edmond Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of *Lond.*
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Bar.
Augustine Garland.
Simon Meyne.

The

The Court being called, the Serjeant is required to ſend for the Priſoner, who was accordingly brought to the Bar, where he took his Seat as formerly. Proclamation is thereupon made for Silence, while the Pleas of the Commonwealth are in hand, and the Captain of the Guard commanded by Proclamation, to take into cuſtody all that ſhall diſturb the Proceedings of the Court.

Mr. Sollicitor *Cooke* addreſſing himſelf to the Court, repeated the former Delays and Contempts of the Priſoner, ſo as that no more needed on his part, but to demand Judgment; yet offered notwithſtanding the Notoriety of the Facts charged, mentioned in the Commons Act, appointing the Tryal, to prove the Truth of the ſame by Witneſſes, if thereto required; and therefore prayed, and yet (he ſaid) not ſo much he, as the innocent Blood that had been ſhed, the cry whereof was very great, that a ſpeedy Sentence and Judgment might be pronounced againſt the Priſoner at the Bar according to Juſtice.

Hereupon the Court putting the Priſoner in mind of former Proceedings, and that although by the Rules of Juſtice, if Advantage were taken of his paſt Contempts, nothing would remain but to pronounce Judgment againſt him, they had nevertheleſs determined to give him leave to Anſwer his Charge; which, as was told him in plain terms (for Juſtice knew no reſpect of Perſons) to plead *Guilty* or *Not Guilty* thereto.

To which he made Anſwer as formerly, That he would not acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court, and that it was againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; that there was no Law to make a King a Priſoner; that he had done nothing againſt his Truſt; and iſſued out into ſuch like Diſcourſes.

Upon which, the Courts Reſolution was again remembred to him, and he told, That he had now the third time publickly diſowned and affronted the Court; That, how good a Preſerver he had been of the Fundamental Laws, and Freedoms of the Peo-

ple, his Actions had ſpoken; that mens Intentions were uſed to be ſhewed by their Actions, and that he had written his Meaning in bloody Characters throughout the Kingdom, and that he ſhould find at laſt, though at preſent he would not underſtand it, that he was before a Court of Juſtice.

Hereupon, in the manner appointed, the Clerk in the Name of the Court demanding the Priſoners Anſwer to his Charge, and the ſame refuſed, the Default was Recorded, the Priſoner remanded, and the Court Adjourned to the *Painted Chamber.*

Painted Chamber.

The Court according to their former Adjournment from *Weſtminſter-Hall*, came together from thence into the *Painted Chamber*, where they ſate privately; and Ordered as followeth,

Ordered, *That no Commiſſioner ought, or ſhall depart from the Court, without the ſpecial leave of the ſaid Court.*

This Court took into conſideration the managing of the Buſineſs of the Court this day, in the Hall, and the King's Refuſal to Anſwer, notwithſtanding he had been three ſeveral times demanded and required thereunto, and have thereupon fully approved of what on the Courts part had then paſſed, and Reſolved,

That, *Notwithſtanding the ſaid Contumacy of the King, and refuſal to plead, which in Law amounts to a ſtanding mute, and tacit Confeſſion of the Charge, and notwithſtanding the Notoriety of the Fact charged, the Court would nevertheleſs however examine Witneſſes, for the further and clearer ſatisfaction of their own Judgments and Conſciences; the manner of whoſe Examination was referred to further Conſideration the next Sitting, and Warrants were accordingly iſſued forth for ſummoning of Witneſſes.*

Mr. *Peters* moveth the Court as a Meſſenger from the King, *viz.* That the King deſires he might ſpeak with his Chaplains that came unto him privately; but the *Houſe* of *Commons* having taken that into their

their Conſideration, the Court conceived it not proper for them to intermeddle therein.

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till Nine of the Clock to morrow morning, to this Place.

What paſſed in the Hall more at large than is related by Phelpes *in this Days Tranſactions, ſee in the following Diſcourſe.*

The King being brought in by the Guard, looks with a Majeſtick Countenance upon his *Pretended Judges*, and ſits down.

After the ſecond *O Yes*, and Silence commanded, *Cooke* began more inſolently;

Cooke. *May it pleaſe your Lordſhip*, My Lord Preſident, *This is now the third time, that, by the great Grace and Favour of this High Court, the Priſoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any Iſſue joyned in the Cauſe.* My Lord, *I did at the firſt Court exhibit a Charge againſt him, containing the* Higheſt Treaſon *that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of* England, *That*, a King of *England*, truſted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath ſo to do, that had Tribute paid him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a wicked Deſign to ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for War againſt the Parliament and People; *and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of* England, *that he might ſpeedily be required to make an Anſwer to the Charge.*

But, My Lord, *inſtead of making any Anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court. Your* Lordſhip *was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider, and to put in his Anſwer; which day being Yeſterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer, either by Denying or Confeſſion of it: But*, my Lord, *he was then pleaſed for to Demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court; which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer.*

My

My Lord, *Beſides this great Delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move your* Lordſhip *for ſpeedy Judgment againſt him.* My Lord, *I might preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land,* That, if a Priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not put in an iſſuable Plea, *Guilty* or *Not Guilty* of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal, *that as by an implicite Confeſſion it may be taken* pro confeſſo, *as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerved more favour than the Priſoner at the Bar has done:* *But beſides,* My Lord, *I ſhall humbly preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole Fact. The* Houſe *of* Commons, *the Supreme Authority and Juriſdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That,* it is notorious that the Matter of the Charge is true; *as it is in truth,* My Lord, *as clear as Cryſtal, and as the Sun that ſhines at Noon-day: which, if your Lordſhip and the Court be not ſatisfied in, I have notwithſtanding, on the People of* England's *behalf, ſeveral Witneſſes to produce. And therefore I do humbly pray (and yet I muſt confeſs, it is not ſo much I, as the innocent Blood that hath been ſhed, the Cry whereof is very great for Juſtice and Judgment; and therefore I do humbly pray) that ſpeedy Judgment be pronounced againſt the Priſoner at the Bar.*

Bradſhaw *went on in the ſame ſtrain.*

Sir, *You have heard what is moved by the Councel on the behalf of the Kingdom againſt you.* Sir, *You may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what dilatory Dealings the Court hath found at your hands: You were pleaſed to propound ſome Queſtions; You have had Your Reſolution upon them. You were told over and over again, That,* The Court did affirm their own Juriſdiction; that it was not for You nor any other man to diſpute the Juriſdiction of the Supreme and Higheſt Authority of *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there muſt be no Diſpute; *yet You did perſiſt in ſuch Carriage, as You gave no manner of Obedience, nor did You acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that conſtituted this Court of Juſtice.*

Sir,

Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, that they are very ſenſible of theſe Delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the Supreme Court of *England*, to be thus trifled withal; and that they might in Juſtice, if they pleaſed, and according to the Rules of Juſtice, take advantage of theſe Delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment againſt you: yet nevertheleſs they are pleaſed to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a poſitive Anſwer unto this Charge that is againſt you. *Sir*, in plain terms (for Juſtice knows no reſpect of Perſons) you are to give your Poſitive and Final Anſwer in plain *Engliſh*, whether you be Guilty or not Guilty of theſe Treaſons laid to your Charge.

The King, *after a little Pauſe, ſaid,*

When I was here Yeſterday, I did deſire to ſpeak for the Liberties of the People of England; *I was interrupted: I deſire to know yet whether I may ſpeak freely or not.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You have had the Reſolution of the Court upon the like Queſtion the laſt day; and you were told, *That having ſuch a Charge of ſo high a Nature, againſt you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court, and to anſwer to your Charge.* *Sir*, if you anſwer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the Advantage of your Contempt; yet, if you be able to anſwer to your Charge, when you have once anſwered, you ſhall be heard at large, make the beſt Defence you can. But, *Sir*, I muſt let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to iſſue out into any other Diſcourſes, till ſuch time as you have given a Poſitive Anſwer concerning the Matter that is charged upon you.

King. *For the Charge, I value it not a ruſh. It is the Liberty of the People of* England *that I ſtand for. For Me to acknowledge a New Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that ſhould be an example to all the People of* England, *for to uphold Juſtice, to maintain the Old Laws, indeed I know not how to do it.*

You ſpoke very well the firſt day that I came here on Saturday, *of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God to the Maintenance of the Liberties of my People; the ſame Obligation you ſpake of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to Him and to My People, to defend as much as in me lies, the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom; therefore until that I may know that this is not againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your favour, I can put in no particular Anſwer. If you will give Me time, I will ſhew you My Reaſons why I cannot do it; and this----*

Here being interrupted, he ſaid,

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt Me.

How I came here I know not; there's no Law for it, to make your King your Priſoner. I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom; that was the known---- Two Houſes of Parliament, that was the Repreſentative of the Kingdom; and when that I had almoſt made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither; and therefore----

Bradſhaw. Sir, You muſt know the Pleaſure of the Court.

King. *By your favour,* Sir.

Bradſhaw. Nay, *Sir,* By your Favour, You may not be permitted to fall into thoſe Diſcourſes: You appear as a Delinquent; You have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court. The Court craves it not of You; but once more they command You to give Your Poſitive Anſwer.

Clerk, do your Duty.

King. *Duty,* Sir!

The Clerk *reads.*

CHARLES STUART, King of *England,* You are accuſed, in the behalf of the *Commons* of *England,* of divers High Crimes and Treaſons; which Charge hath been read unto you: The Court now requires you to give your Poſitive and Final Anſwer by way of Confeſſion or Denial of the Charge.

King.

King. *Sir, I ſay again to you, ſo that I might give ſatisfaction to the People of* England, *of the clearneſs of My Proceeding, not by way of Anſwer, not in this way, but to ſatisfie them, that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath been committed to Me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court againſt their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom,* Sir, *you muſt excuſe Me.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, This is the third time that You have publickly diſown'd this Court, and put an Affront upon it. How far You have preſerv'd the Priviledges of the People, Your Actions have ſpoke it; but truly, *Sir,* Mens Intentions ought to be known by their Actions: You have written Your Meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom.

But, *Sir,* You underſtand the Pleaſure of the Court.

Clerk, Record the Default.

And, *Gentlemen,* You that took Charge of the Priſoner, take him back again.

King. *I will only ſay this one Word more to you; if it were only My own Particular, I would not ſay any more, nor interrupt you.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You have heard the Pleaſure of the Court, and You are (notwithſtanding You will not underſtand it) to find that You are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King *went forth with the Guard.*

And Proclamation was made, That all Perſons which had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the *Painted Chamber*; to which Place the Court did forthwith Adjourn, and intended to meet at *Weſtminſter-Hall* by Ten of the Clock next Morning.

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of *England.*

Mercurii, 24 Jan. 1648.

Painted Chamber.

Three Proclamations made.

The Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident.*

Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Baronet.
Thomas Scot.
Edward Whalley.
John Carew.
Edmund Harvey.
Owen Roe.
John Blackiſtone.
William Purefoy.
Henry Smith.
John Fry.
Francis Laſſels.
Daniel Blagrave.
Anthony Stapeley.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
William Cawley.
Robert Tichbourne.
Henry Marten.
Oliver Cromwell.
Sir *John Danvers.*
John Moore.
Richard Deane.
Vincent Potter.
Thomas Horton.
Cornelius Holland.
John Berkſtead.
Tho. Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
John Huſon.
John Okey.
Gilbert Millington.
John Jones.
William Goffe.
Sir *John Bourchier.*
Iſaac Pennington, Ald. of *Lond.*
Simon Meyne.
Adrian Scroope.
John Dixwell.
Iſaac Ewers.
John Aldred.
Peter Temple.
Peregrine Pelham.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchinſon.
Thomas Pride.
William Heveningham.
Sir *William Conſtable.*
Francis Allen.

The Court took into Conſideration the Manner how the Witneſſes ſhould be Examined; and in regard the King hath not Pleaded to Iſſue, and that this Examination was *ex abundanti* only for the further ſatisfaction of themſelves,

Reſolved, That the Witneſſes ſhall be Examined to the Charge againſt the King, in the *Painted Chamber*, before the Court there.

Ordered, *That Mr.* Millington *and Mr.* Tho. Challoner *do forthwith repair unto* John Brown *Eſq*; *Clerk of the*

the Houſe of Peers for ſuch Papers as are in his Cuſtody, which are conducible for the Buſineſs and Service of this Court, and the ſaid Mr. Brown *is required to ſend the ſaid Papers hither accordingly.*

Witneſſes Produced and Sworn in Court to give Evidence to the Charge againſt the King.

Henry Hartford.
Edward Roberts.
William Braynes.
Robert Lacy.
Robert Loades.
Samuel Morgan.
James Williams.
Michael Potts.
Giles Gryce.
William Arnop.
John Vinſon.
George Seely.
Tho. Ives.
James Crosby.
Tho. Rawlins.
Richard Blomfield.
John Thomas.
Samuel Lawſon.
John Pyneger.
George Cornewall.
Tho. Whittington.
William Jones.
Humphrey Browne.
Arthur Toung.
David Evans.
Diogenes Edwards.
Robert Williams.
John Bennett.
Samuel Burden.

Col. *Horton*, Col. *Deane*, Col. *Okey*, Col. *Huſon*, Col. *Roe*, Col. *Tichbourne*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Tomlinſon*, Col. *Goffe*, Col. *Ewers*, Col. *Scroope*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Tho. Challoner*, Mr. *Millington*, and Sir *John Danvers*, or any Three of them, are a Committee appointed to take the Examination of the ſaid Witneſſes now ſworn, whom the Clerks are to attend for that purpoſe.

The Court granted their Summons for ſummoning further Witneſſes, and Adjourned it ſelf till the Morrow at Nine of the Clock in the Morning, to this Place.

Jovis, 25 Jan. 1648.

Painted Chamber,

Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.
Richard Deane.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
John Moore
Peregr. Pelham.
John Huſon.
John Barkſtead.
Edw. Whalley.
John Okey.
Edmond Harvey.
Adrian Scroope.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Gilbert Millington.
Thomas Challoner.
John Carew.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
Sir Thomas Maleverer Bar.
Francis Allen.
Thomas Harriſon.
John Jones.
John Aldred.
John Browne.
Iſaac Ewers.
Robert Tichbourne.
Auguſtine Garland.
Francis Laſſells.
John Dixwell.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
John Venn.
Edmond Wild.
With divers others.

Here the Court ſate private.

The Court Ordered that the Marſhal Gen. of this Army, or his Deputy do bring forthwith Mr. *Holder* Priſoner at *White-Hall*, to the end that he may teſtify his knowledge of all ſuch Matters as ſhall be propounded unto him concerning the Charge againſt the King.

Ordered, *That the* Dean's *Houſe in* Weſtminſter-Abbey, *be provided and furniſhed for the Lodging of the* Lord Preſident *and his Servants, Guards and Attendants*; and a Committee are appointed to take care hereof accordingly.

Mr. *Henry Gouge* and Mr. *William Cuthbert*, Witneſſes produced to the Charge againſt the King, were ſworn and examined.

The

The Witneſſes ſworn in open Court, and after examined by the Committee appointed for that purpoſe the 24*th.* Inſtant, were now in open Court called, and their reſpective Depoſitions were read to them, who did avow their ſaid ſeveral Depoſitions, and affirm what was ſo read unto them reſpectively, was true, upon the Oaths they had taken.

The Court being informed, that Major *Fox*, being of the Guard attending the *Lord Preſident*, is arreſted, and committed to the Keeper of *Ludgate*, Ordered, That *the ſaid Keeper do forthwith bring the ſaid* Major before this Court, and attend this Court in perſon himſelf.

M. *Holder* being brought before this Court according to the Order of this Day, and his Oath tendred unto him, to give Evidence to ſuch Matters as ſhould be propounded unto him concerning the Charge againſt the King, the ſaid Mr. *Holder* deſired to be ſpared from giving Evidence againſt the King.

Whereupon, the Commiſſioners finding him already a Priſoner, and perceiving that the Queſtions intended to be asked him, tended to accuſe himſelf, thought fit to wave his Examination, and remanded him (and accordingly did ſo) to the Priſon from whence he was brought.

The Depoſitions taken ut ſupra, *are as followeth*, viz.

Jan, 25. 1648.

William Cuthbert of *Patrington* in * *Holderneſs*, Gent. Aged 42 Years, or thereabouts, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That he, this Deponent, living at *Hull-Bridge*, near *Beverley*, in *July* 1642. did then hear that Forces were raiſed about three thouſand Foot, for the Kings Guard under Sir *Robert Strickland.*

* Holderneſs *is in the County of* York.

And this Deponent further ſaith, That about the Second of *July* 1642. he ſaw a Troop of Horſe come to *Beverley*, being the Lords Day, about four or five of the Clock in the Afternoon, called, *The Princes Troop*, Mr. *James Nelthorp* being then Major of the ſaid Town.

And

And this Deponent further ſaith, That he did ſee that Afternoon the ſaid Troop march from *Beverley* aforeſaid, into *Holderneſs*, where they received Ammunition brought up by the River of *Humber* unto them.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That the ſame Night being *Sunday*, there came about three hundred Foot Soldiers (ſaid to be Sir *Robert Strickland*'s Regiment) under the Command of Lieutenant Col. *Duncombe*, and called, *The King's Guard*, unto this *Deponents* Houſe, called *Hull-Bridge*, near *Beverley*, about Midnight, and broke open, entred, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſaid Houſe; and that the E. of *Newport*, the E. of *Carnarvan*, and divers others came that night thither to the ſaid Forces; and that the ſame night (as this *Deponent* was then informed) Sir *Tho. Gower*, then High Sheriff of the ſaid County, came thither, and left there a Warrant for ſtaying all Proviſions from going to *Hull* to Sir *John Hotham*; which ſaid Warrant was then delivered to this Deponent, being Conſtable, by Lieut. Col. *Duncombe*.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That he was by the ſaid Forces put out of his Houſe, and did with his Family go to *Beverley*; and that after that, (*viz.*) the *Thurſday* following, to this *Deponent's* beſt remembrance, he did ſee the King come to *Beverley*, to the Lady *Gees* Houſe there; where he, this *Deponent*, did often ſee the King, with Prince *Charles* and the Duke of *York*; and that the Trained Bands were then raiſed in *Holderneſs*; who were raiſed (as was generally reported) by the King's Command.

* *Sir* John Hotham's *keeping* Hull *as a Garriſon againſt the King, which was before this, was, it ſeems no Act of Hoſtility, in this Perjur'd Villain's account.*

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That the Night after the ſaid Forces had as aforeſaid, poſſeſſed themſelves of this *Deponent*'s Houſe, Col. *Legard*'s Houſe was Plundered by them, being upon a *Monday*; which aforeſaid Entry of this *Deponent*'s Houſe, was the firſt * Act of Hoſtility that was committed in thoſe Parts.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That after the ſaid Sir *Robert Strickland*'s ſaid Company was gone from *Hull-Bridge*, having continued there about ten days, there

there then came to the ſaid Houſe Col. *Wivel*, with about ſeven hundred Foot Soldiers, who then took up his Quarters at *Hull-Bridge* aforeſaid. And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That the Warrant he now produceth to this Court, is the ſame Original Warrant aforeſaid ſpoken of.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That the General's Name of the ſaid Forces that were there, and raiſed as aforeſaid, was the E. of *Lindſey*; and that this *Deponent* was brought before him the ſaid General, in the Name of *The King's Lord General*, for holding Intelligence with Sir *John Hotham*, then Governor of *Hull*; and becauſe it was then informed to the ſaid General, that he this Deponent had Proviſions of Corn to ſend over unto *Ireland*, which he this *Deponent* was forbidden by the ſaid General to ſend unto *Ireland* or any place elſe, without his or the King's Direction or Warrant firſt had in that behalf,

The aforeſaid Warrant mentioned in the Depoſition of the ſaid William Cuthbert, *is as followeth*;

It is His Majeſties Command, that you do not ſuffer any Victuals or Proviſion of what ſort ſoever to be carried into the Town of *Hull* without His Majeſties Special Licenſe firſt obtained; And of this you are not to fail at your Peril.

Dated at *Beverley*, 3 Julii, 1642.

Tho. Gower, Vi. Co.

To all Head Conſtables, and Conſtables in the Eaſt-Riding *of the County of* York, *and to all other His Majeſties Loyal Subjects.*

John Bennet of *Harwood*, in the County of *York*, Glover, Sworn, and Examined, ſaith, That he being a Soldier under the King's Command, the firſt Day that the King's Standard was ſet up at *Nottingham*, which was about the middle of Summer laſt was ſix

years, he this Examinant did work at *Nottingham*, and that he did ſee the King within the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, within two or three days after the ſaid Standard was ſo ſet up, and that the ſaid Standard did fly the ſame day that the King was in the ſaid Caſtle, as aforeſaid, and this *Deponent* did hear that the King was at *Nottingham* the ſame day that the ſaid Standard was firſt ſet up, and before.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That he this *Deponent*, and the Regiment of which he then was, had their Colours then given them; and Sir *William Penyman* being the Colonel of the ſaid Regiment, the ſaid Sir *William Penyman* was preſent with his ſaid Regiment at that time.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That there was then there the E. of *Lindſey*'s Regiment, who had then their Colours given them, and that the ſaid E. of *Lindſey* was then alſo Proclaimed there *The King's General*; and that it was proclaimed then there likewiſe in the King's Name, at the Head of every Regiment, that the ſaid Forces ſhould fight againſt all that came to oppoſe the King, or any of His Followers; and in particular, againſt the E. of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Brooke*, and divers others; and that they the ſaid E. of *Eſſex*, and Lord *Brooke*, and divers others were then proclaimed Traytors, and that the ſame Proclamations were Printed, and diſperſed by the Officers of the Regiments throughout every Regiment.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That the ſaid Standard was Advanced upon the higheſt Tower of *Nottingham* Caſtle; and that he this *Deponent*, did ſee the King often in *Nottingham* at that time that the ſaid Forces continued at *Nottingham* as aforeſaid, they continuing there for the ſpace of one Month; and that the Drums for raiſing Volunteers to fight under the King's Command, were then beaten all the ſaid County over, and divers other Forces were raiſed there.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That he did take up Arms under the King's Command as aforeſaid, for fear of being Plundered; Sir *William Penyman* giving

out,

out, that it were a good deed to Fire the ſaid Town, becauſe they would not go forth in the King's Service, and that this *Deponent*'s Father did thereupon command him this *Deponent* to take up Arms as aforeſaid, and that divers others (as they did confeſs) did then alſo take up Arms for the King for fear of being Plundered.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That in or about the Month of *October* 1642. he did ſee the King at *Edge-Hill* in *Warwickſhire*, where he ſitting on Horſeback while his Army was drawn up before him,* did ſpeak to the Colonel of every Regiment that paſſed by him, that he would have them ſpeak to their Soldiers to encourage them to ſtand it, and to fight againſt the L. of *Eſſex*, the L. *Brookes*, Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *William Balfour*.

* *How is it poſſible this Fellow could ſwear the King ſpoke this to every Colonel, ſeeing it was as they paſſed by; and when his Col. was paſſed by, he could hear no more.*

And this *Deponent* ſaith, That he did ſee many ſlain at the Fight at *Edge-Hill*, and that afterwards he did ſee a Liſt brought in unto *Oxford*, of the Men which were ſlain in that Fight; by which it was reported, that there were ſlain 6559 Men.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, Afterwards, in or about the Month of *November* 1642. he did ſee the King in the Head of his Army at *Hounſlow-Heath* in *Middleſex*, Prince *Rupert* then ſtanding by Him. And he, this *Deponent*, did then hear the King encourage ſeveral Regiments of *Welſhmen* (then being in the Field) which had run away at *Edge-Hill*, ſaying unto them, That *He did hope they would regain their Honour at* Brentford, *which they had loſt at* Edge-Hill.

William Brayne of *Wixhall* in the County of *Salop*, Gent. being Sworn and Examined, depoſeth, That about *Auguſt* in the Year 1642. this Deponent ſaw the King at *Nottingham*, while the Standard was ſet up, and the Flagg flying; and that he, this Deponent much about the ſame time Marched with the King's Army from *Nottingham* to *Derby*, the King himſelf being then in the Army; And about *September* the ſaid Year, he, this Deponent, was put upon his Tryal at *Shrewsbury* as a Spy, before Sir *Robert Heath*, and other Commiſſioners

ſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, the King then being in perſon in *Shrewsbury*.

Henry Hartford of *Stratford* upon *Avon*, in *Warwickſhire*, Sworn and Examined, depoſeth, That about Corn-Harveſt in the Year 1642. this Deponent ſaw the King in *Nottingham* Caſtle, while the Standard was ſet upon one of the Towers of the ſaid Caſtle, and the Flagg flying.

And he further ſaith and depoſeth, That he, this Deponent, ſaw the King the ſame Year about the Month of *November* in *Brainford* Town on Horſeback, with a great many Commanders about him, on a *Sunday* Morning, when on the *Saturday* Night before, there were a great many of the Parliaments Forces ſlain by the Kings Forces in the ſaid Town.

Robert Lacy of the Town and County of *Nottingham*, Painter, Sworn and Examined, depoſeth, That he, this Deponent in Summer-time, in the Year 1642. by Order from my Lord *Beaumont*, did Paint the Standard-Pole which was ſet up on the top of the old Tower of *Nottingham* Caſtle: And he further ſaith, That he ſaw the King in the Town of *Nottingham* diverſe times while the Standard was up there, and the Flagg flying, and the King did lie at the Houſe of my Lord of *Clare* in *Nottingham* Town, and that he this Deponent did then and there ſee the King many times.

Edward Roberts of *Biſhop-Caſtle* in the County of *Salop*, Ironmonger, Sworn and Examined, ſaith and depoſeth, That he this Deponent, ſaw the King in *Nottingham* Town while the Standard was ſet upon the High Tower in *Nottingham* Caſtle.

And he further ſaith, That he ſaw the King at the Head of the Army at *Shrewsbury*, upon the March towards *Edge-Hill*, and that he likewiſe ſaw the King in the Reer of his Army in *Keynton-Field*; and likewiſe ſaw the King upon the *Sunday* Morning at *Brainford*, after the Fight upon the *Saturday* next before, in the ſaid Town.

Robert

Robert Loads of *Cottam* in *Nottinghamſhire*, Tyler, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That he this *Deponent*, about *October* in the Year 1642. ſaw the King in the Reer of his Army in *Keynton* Field upon a *Sunday*, where he ſaw many ſlain on both ſides.

And he further ſaith, That he ſaw the King in *Cornwal* in his Army, near the Houſe of my Lord *Mohun*, about *Leſtithiel*, about Corn-Harveſt 1644.

Samuel Morgan of *Wellington* in Com. *Salop*, Felt-maker, Sworn and Examined, depoſeth, That he this *Deponent*, upon a *Sunday* Morning in *Keynton*-Field ſaw the King upon the top of *Edge-Hill* in the Head of the Army, ſome two hours before the Fight, which happened after *Michaelmas* on a *Sunday* the Year 1642. And he this Deponent ſaw many men killed on both ſides in the ſame time and place.

And he further ſaith, That in the Year 1644. he, this *Deponent* ſaw the King in his Army near *Cropredy*-Bridge, where he ſaw the King light off his Horſe, and draw up the Body of his Army in perſon himſelf.

James Williams of *Roſs* in *Herefordſhire*, Shoemaker, Sworn and Examined, depoſeth, That he this *Deponent*, about *October*, the Year 1642. ſaw the King in *Keynton*-Fields below the Hill in the Field with his Sword drawn in his hand, at which Time and Place there was a great Fight, and many kill'd on both ſides.

And he further depoſeth, That he ſaw the King at *Brainford* on a *Sunday* in the Forenoon, in *November* the Year aboveſaid, while the King's Army was in the ſaid Town, and round about it.

John Pyneger of the Pariſh of *Hainer* in the County of *Derby*, Yeoman, Aged 37 Years or thereabout, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That about *Auguſt* 1642. he the *Deponent* ſaw the King's Standard flying upon one of the Towers of *Nottingham* Caſtle; and that upon the ſame day he ſaw the King in *Thurland*-Houſe,

being the Earl of *Clare*'s Houſe in *Nottingham*, in the Company of Prince *Rupert*, Sir *John Digby*, and other Perſons, both Noblemen and others; and that the King had at the ſame time in the ſaid Town a Train of Artillery, and the ſaid Town was then full of the King's Soldiers.

Samuel Lawſon of *Nottingham*, Maltſter, Aged Thirty Years or therabouts, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That about *Auguſt* 1642. he this *Deponent* ſaw the Kings Standard brought forth of *Nottingham* Caſtle, born upon diverſe Gentlemens Shoulders (who as the Report was) were Noblemen, and he ſaw the ſame by them carried to the Hill cloſe adjoyning to the Caſtle, with a Herald before it, and there the ſaid Standard was Erected with great Shoutings, Acclamations, and Sound of Drums and Trumpets, and that when the ſaid Standard was ſo Erected, there was a Proclamation made, and that he this Deponent ſaw the King preſent at the Erecting thereof. And this Deponent further ſaith, That the ſaid Town was then full of the Kings Soldiers, of which ſome quartered in this Deponents Houſe, and that when the King with his ſaid Forces went from the ſaid Town, the Inhabitants of the ſaid Town were forced to pay a great ſum of money to the Kings Army, being threatned, that in caſe they ſhould refuſe to pay it, the ſaid Town ſhould be plundred.

Arthur Young, Citizen and Barber Chirurgeon of *London*, being Aged twenty nine Years or thereabouts, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That he this Deponent was preſent at the Fight at *Edge-Hill* between the *King*'s Army and the *Parliaments*, in *October* 1642. and he did then ſee the *King*'s Standard advanced, and flying in his Army in the ſaid Fight. And that he this *Deponent* did then take the *King*'s ſaid Standard in that Battel from the *Kings* Forces, which was afterwards taken from him by one *Middleton*, who was afterwards made a Colonel.

Thomas

Thomas Whittington of the Town and County of *Nottingham*, Shoemaker, Aged twenty two Years, ſworn and examined, ſaith, that he, this *Deponent* ſaw the *King* in the Town of *Nottingham*, the ſame day that his Standard was firſt ſet up in *Nottingham* Caſtle, being about the beginning of *Auguſt* 1642. and that the *King* then went from his Lodgings at *Thurland* Houſe, towards the ſaid Caſtle; and that he, this Deponent ſaw him ſeveral times about that time in *Nottingham*, there being divers Soldiers at that time in the ſaid Town, who were called by the name of *The King's Soldiers*.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, that he ſaw the *King*'s Standard flying upon the *Old Tower* in the ſaid Caſtle.

John Thomas of *LLangollen* in the County of *Denbigh*, Husbandman, Aged twenty five Years, or thereabouts, ſworn and examined, ſaith, that he ſaw the *King* at *Brainford* in the County of *Middleſex*, on a *Saturday* Night at twelve of the Clock, ſoon after *Edge-Hill* Fight, attended with Horſe and Foot Soldiers, the *King* being then on Horſeback with his Sword by his ſide; and this *Deponent* then heard the *King* ſay to the ſaid ſoldiers as he was riding through the ſaid Town, *Gentlemen, You loſt your Honour at* Edge-Hill, *I hope you will regain it again here*; or Words to that effect.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, that there were ſome skirmiſhes between the *King*'s Army and the *Parliament*'s Army, at the ſame time, both before and after the *King* ſpake the ſaid Words, and that many men were ſlain on both ſides.

Richard Blomfield, Citizen and Weaver of *London*, Aged thirty five Years, or thereabouts, ſworn and examined, ſaith, that at the Defeat of the E. of *Eſſex*'s Army in *Cornwal*, he this Deponent was there, it being at the latter end of the Month of *Auguſt*, or beginning of *September* 1644. At which time, he this Deponent ſaw the *King* at the Head of his Army, near *Foy*, on Horſeback: And further ſaith, that he did

did then ſee divers of the L. of *Eſſex*'s Souldiers plundered, contrary to Articles then lately made, near the perſon of the King.

William Jones of *Uske* in the County of *Monmouth*, Husbandman, Aged twenty two Years, or thereabouts, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That he this *Deponent* did ſee the King within two Miles of *Naſeby*-Field, the King then coming fromwards *Harborough*, Marching in the Head of his Army, towards *Naſeby*-Field where the Fight was; and that he this *Deponent* did then ſee the *King* ride up to the Regiment which was Col. *St.Georges*, and there the *Deponent* did hear the King ask the Regiment, *Whether they were willing to fight for him?* To which the Soldiers made an Acclamation, crying, *All, All.*

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, that he ſaw the *King* in *Leiceſter* with his Forces, the ſame day that the *King*'s Forces had taken it from the *Parliaments* Forces.

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That he ſaw the *King* in his Army that beſieged *Gloceſter* at the time of the ſaid Siege.

Humphrey Browne of *Whitſondine* in the County of *Rutland*, Husbandman, Aged twenty two Years or thereabouts, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That at ſuch time as the Town of *Leiceſter* was taken by the *King's* Forces, being in or about *June* 1645. *Newark* Fort in *Leiceſter* aforeſaid was ſurrendred to the *King*'s Forces upon Compoſition, that neither Cloaths nor Money ſhould be taken away from any of the Soldiers of that Fort which had ſo ſurrendred, nor any violence offered to them; and that aſſoon as the ſaid Fort was upon ſuch Compoſition ſo ſurrendred as aforeſaid, the King's Soldiers contrary to the Articles, fell upon the Soldiers of the ſaid Fort, ſtript, cut and wounded many of them; whereupon, one of the King's Officers rebuking ſome of thoſe that did ſo abuſe the ſaid Parliaments Soldiers, this *Deponent* did then hear the King reply, *I do not care if they cut them three times more,*

more, for they are mine Enemies, or words to that effect: And that the King was then on Horſeback, in bright Armour, in the ſaid Town of *Leiceſter*.

David Evans of *Abergenny*, in the County of *Monmouth*, Smith, Aged about twenty three years, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That about half an hour before the Fight at *Naſeby*, about Midſummer in *June*, 1645. he ſaw the King marching up to the Battail in the Head of his Army, being about half a mile from the place where the ſaid Battail was fought.

Diogenes Edwards, of *Carſton* in the County of *Salop*, Butcher, Aged 21 years or thereabouts, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That in *June* 1645. he this Deponent did ſee the King in the Head of his Army, an hour and a half before the Fight in *Naſeby* Field, marching up to the Battail, being then a mile and a half from the ſaid Field: And this Deponent ſaith, That he did afterwards the ſame day ſee many ſlain at the ſaid Battail.

Giles Gryce of *Wellington*, in *Shropſhire*, Gent. Sworn and Examined, Depoſeth, That he this Deponent, ſaw the King in the Head of his Army, at *Cropredy*-Bridge, with his Sword drawn in his Hand, that day when the Fight was againſt Sir *William Waller*, on a *Fryday*, as this Deponent remembreth, in the Year 1644, about the Month of *July*, and he further ſaith,

That he ſaw the King in the ſame Summer, in *Cornwall*, in the Head of his Army, about *Leſtithiel* at ſuch time as the Earl of *Eſſex* was there with his Army. And he further ſaith,

That he alſo ſaw the King in the Head of his Army, at the ſecond Fight near *Newberry*. And further ſaith,

That he ſaw the King in the Front of the Army, in *Naſeby* Field, having Back and Breaſt on: And he further ſaith,

That he ſaw the King in the Head of the Army, at what time the Town of *Leiceſter* was ſtormed, and

ſaw the King Ride into the Town of *Leiceſter*, after the Town was taken, and he ſaw a great many men killed on both ſides, at *Leiceſter*, and many Houſes Plundred.

John Vinſon of *Damorham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That he did ſee the King at the Firſt *Newberry* Fight, about the Month of *September*, 1643. in the Head of his Army, where this Deponent did ſee many ſlain on both ſides; this Deponent alſo ſaith,

That he did ſee the King at the Second Battail at *Newberry*, about the Month of *November*, 1644. where the King was at the Head of his Army in Complete Armour, with his Sword drawn; and this Deponent did then ſee the King Lead up Colonel *Thomas Howards* Regiment of Horſe, and did hear him make a Speech to the Soldiers, in the Head of that Regiment, to this effect, that is to ſay, *That the ſaid Regiment ſhould ſtand to him that Day, for that his Crown lay upon the Point of the Sword, and if he loſt that Day, he loſt his Honour and his Crown for ever.* And that this Deponent did ſee many ſlain on both ſides, at that Battail. This Deponent further ſaith,

That he did ſee the King in the Battail at *Naſeby* Field, in *Northamptonſhire*, on or about the Month of *June*, 1645. where the King was then Completely Armed with Back, Breaſt and Helmet, and had his Sword drawn, where the King himſelf after his Party was Routed, did Rally up the Horſe, and cauſed them to ſtand; and at that time this Deponent did ſee many ſlain on both ſides.

George Seely of *London*, Cordwainer, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That he did ſee the King at the Head of a Brigade of Horſe, at the Siege of *Glouceſter*, and did alſo ſee the King at the Firſt Fight at *Newberry*, about the Month of *September*, 1643. where the King was at the Head of a Regiment of Horſe; and that there were many ſlain at that Fight on both ſides: This Deponent alſo ſaith,

That

That he did ſee the *King* at the ſecond Fight at *Newbery*, which was about *November*, 1644. where the *King* was in the middle of his Army.

John Moore of the City of *Corke* in *Ireland*, Gent. Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That at the laſt Fight at *Newberry*, about the Month of *November*, 1644. he this Deponent did ſee the *King* in the middle of the Horſe, with his Sword drawn, and that he did ſee abundance of men at that Fight ſlain upon the ground, on both ſides: This Deponent alſo ſaith,

That he did ſee the *King* ride into *Leiceſter*, before a Party of Horſe, the ſame day that *Leiceſter* was taken by the *Kings* Forces, which was about the Month of *June*, 1645.

This Deponent further ſaith, That he did ſee the *King* before the Fight at *Leiceſter*, at *Cropredy-Bridge*, in the midſt of a Regiment of Horſe, And that he did ſee many ſlain at the ſame time, when the *King* was in the Fight at *Cropredy-Bridge*.

And Laſtly, this Deponent ſaith, That he did ſee the *King*, at the head of a Regiment of Horſe at *Naſeby* Fight about the Month of *June*, 1645. where he did ſee abundance of men Cut, Shot and ſlain.

Thomas Ives of *Boyſet*, in the County of *Northampton*, Husbandman, Sworn and Examined, ſaith, That he did ſee the *King* in his Army at the Firſt Fight of *Newberry*, in *Berkshire*, in the Month of *September*, 1643. and that he did ſee many ſlain at that Fight, he this Deponent and others with a Party of Horſe, being Commanded to face the Parliaments Forces, whilſt the Foot did fetch off the Dead.

He ſaith alſo, That he did ſee the *King* advance with his Army to the Fight at *Naſeby* Field in *Northamptonſhire*, about *June*, 1645. and that he did again at that Fight ſee the *King* come off with a Party of Horſe after that his Army was Routed in the Field, and that there were many Men ſlain on both parts, at that Battail at *Naſeby*.

Thomas

Thomas Rawlins of *Hanſlop* in the County of *Bucks*, Gent. ſworn and examined, ſaith, That he did ſee the King near *Foy* in *Cornwal* in or about the Month of July 1644. at the Head of a Party of Horſe; and this *Deponent* did ſee ſome Soldiers plunder after the Articles of Agreement made between the King's Army and the Parliaments Forces, which Soldiers were ſo plundered by the King's Party, not far diſtant from the Perſon of the King.

Thomas Read of *Maidſtone* in the County of *Kent*, Gent. ſworn and examined, ſaith, That preſently after the laying down of Arms in *Cornwal*, between *Leſtithiel* and *Foy*, in or about the latter end of the Month of *Auguſt*, or the beginning of *September* 1644. he this *Deponent*, did ſee the King in the Head of a Guard of Horſe.

James Crosby of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, Barber, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That at the firſt Fight at *Newbury*, about the time of Barley-Harveſt 1643. he this *Deponent* did ſee the King riding from *Newbury* Town, accompanied with divers Lords and Gentlemen, towards the place where his Forces were then fighting with the Parliaments Army.

Samuel Burden of *Lyneham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. ſworn and examined, ſaith, That he, this *Deponent*, was at *Nottingham* in or about the Month of *Auguſt*, 1642. at which time he ſaw a Flagg flying upon the Tower of *Nottingham* Caſtle; and that the next day afterwards he did ſee the King at *Nottingham*, when the ſaid Flagg was ſtill flying, which Flagg this *Deponent* then heard was the King's Standard.

He ſaith alſo, That he did afterwards ſee the King at *Cropredy*-Bridge in the Head of his Army, in a Fallow Field there, and did ſee the King in purſuit of Sir *William Waller*'s Army, being then Routed, which was about the Month of *July* 1644. And at that time this *Deponent* did ſee many People ſlain upon the Ground.

And

And further this *Deponent* ſaith, That in or about the Month of *Novemb.* 1644. he did ſee the King at the laſt Fight at *Newbury*, riding up and down the Field from Regiment to Regiment, whilſt his Army was there fighting with the Parliaments Forces; and this *Deponent* did ſee many Men ſlain at that Battel on both ſides.

Michael Potts of *Sharpereton* in the County of *Northumberland*, Vintner, Sworn and Examined, depoſeth, That he, this *Deponent*, ſaw the King in the Head of the Army in the Fields about a Mile and a half from *Newbury* Town, upon the Heath, the day before the Fight was, it being about Harveſt-tide in the Year 1643.

And he further ſaith, That he ſaw the *King* on the day after, when the Fight was, ſtanding near a great Piece of Ordnance in the Fields.

And he further ſaith, That he ſaw the *King* in the ſecond *Newbury* Fight in the Head of his Army, being after or about *Michaelmas* 1644.

And he further ſaith, That he ſaw a great many Men ſlain at both the ſaid Battels.

And he further ſaith, That he ſaw the *King* in the Head of his Army near *Cropredy*-Bridge in the Year 1644.

And he further ſaith, That he ſaw the King in the Head of his Army in *Cornwal*, near *Leſtithiel*, while the E. of *Eſſex* lay there with his Forces, about the middle of Harveſt 1644.

George Cornwal of *Aſton* in the County of *Hereford*, Ferryman, Aged fifty Years, or thereabouts, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That he, this *Deponent*, did ſee the *King* near *Cropredy*-Bridge, about the time of Mowing of Corn, 1644. in the Van of the Army there, and that he drew up his Army upon a Hill, and faced the Parliaments Army; and that there was thereupon a Skirmiſh between the *King*'s and the *Parliaments* Army; where he, this *Deponent*, ſaw divers perſons ſlain on both ſides.

The Examination of Henry Gooche *of* Grayes-Inn *in the County of* Middleſex, *Gent. Sworn and Examined.*

This *Deponent* ſaith, That upon or about the Thirtieth day of *September* laſt, he this *Deponent*, was in the Iſle of *Wight*, and had Acceſs unto, and Diſcourſe with the King, by the means of the L. Marqueſs of *Hartford*, and Commiſſary *Morgan*; where this *Deponent* told the *King*, that his Majeſty had many Friends; and that ſince his Majeſty was pleaſed to juſtifie the Parliaments firſt taking up Arms, the moſt of the *Presbyterian* Party both Soldiers and others, would ſtick cloſe to him; To which the King anſwered thus, That he would have all his old Friends know, that though for the preſent he was contented to give the Parliament leave to call their own War what they pleaſed, yet that he neither did at that time, nor ever ſhould decline the Juſtice of his own Cauſe.

And this Deponent told the King, that his Buſineſs was much retarded, and that neither Col. *Thomas*, nor any other could proceed to Action, through want of Commiſſion.

The *King* anſwered, That he being upon a Treaty, would not diſhonour himſelf; but that if he, this *Deponent* would take the pains to go over to the Prince his Son (who had full Authority from him) he the ſaid *Deponent*, or any for him, ſhould receive whatſoever Commiſſions ſhould be deſired; and to that purpoſe, he would appoint the Marqueſs of *Hartford* to write to his Son in his Name, and was pleaſed to expreſs much of Joy and Affection, that his good Subjects would ingage themſelves for his Reſtauration.

Robert Williams of the Pariſh of St. *Martins* in the County of *Cornwal*, Husbandman, Aged twenty three Years, or thereabouts, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That he this *Deponent*, did ſee the *King* marching in the Head of his Army about *September*, 1644. a Mile from *Leſtithiel* in *Cornwal*, in Armor, with a ſhort Coat over it unbuttoned.

And

And this *Deponent* further ſaith, That he ſaw him after that in St. *Auſtell* Downes, drawing up his Army.

And this *Deponent* ſaith, he did after that ſee the *King* in the Head of his Army near *Foy*, and that the E. of *Eſſex* and his Army did then lie within one Mile and a half of the *King's* Army.

The Witneſſes being Examined as aforeſaid, the Court Adjourned for an hour.

25 Jan. 1648. *poſt Merid.*

Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

Daniel Blagrave.
John Okey.
Henry Marten.
John Carew.
Thomas Horton.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
Owen Roe.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
Thomas Scot.
John Moore.
Oliver Cromwell.
William Goffe.
Richard Deane.
Cornelius Holland.
Thomas Harriſon.
Robert Lilbourne.
John Downs.
Edmond Ludlow.
Peregr. Pelham.
Sir *Henry Mildmay.*
John Jones.
Valentine Wauton.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
Sir *Thomas Maleverer* Bar.
Adrian Scroope.
Henry Smith.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Huſon.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
John Barkſtead.
Sir *John Danvers.*
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Waite.
William Purefoy.
Thomas Pride.
John Fry.
John Blackiſtone.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Knight.
John Venn.
Robert Tichbourne.
Humphrey Edwards.
Peter Temple.
Vincent Potter.
William Cawley.
Iſaac Ewers.

Richard Price of *London*, Scrivener, was produced a Witneſs to the Charge againſt the King, who being Sworn and Examined, ſaith,

That upon occaſion of ſome tampering by the *King's* Agents with the *Independants* in and about *London*, to draw

draw them from the Parliaments Cauſe, to the *King*'s Party; and this being diſcovered by ſome of thoſe ſo tampered with, unto ſundry Members of the *Committee of Safety*, who directed a carrying on of a ſeeming Compliance with the *King*, he, this Deponent did travel to *Oxford*, in *January* 1643. having a ſafe Conduct under the *Kings* Hand and Seal, which he, this Deponent knoweth to be ſo, for that the King did own it when he was told that this Deponent was the man that came to *Oxon* with that ſafe Conduct.

And this Deponent alſo ſaith, That after ſundry Meetings between him and the E. of *Briſtol*, about the drawing of the *Independants* unto the King's Cauſe againſt the Parliament, the Subſtance of the Diſcourſe, at which Meetings the ſaid Earl told this Deponent, was communicated to the King, he, this *Deponent*, was by the ſaid Earl brought to the *King* to confer further about that Buſineſs; where the *King* declared, *That he was very ſenſible that the* Independents *had been the moſt active men in the Kingdom for the Parliament againſt him*; and thereupon perſwaded this *Deponent* to uſe all means to expedite their turning to Him and his Cauſe: And for their better encouragement, the *King* promiſed in the Word of a *King*, That, *if they, the* Independents, *would turn to him, and be active for him againſt the Parliament, as they had been active for them againſt him, then he would grant them whatſoever freedom they would deſire*: And the *King* did then refer this *Deponent* unto the E. of *Briſtol*, for the further proſecuting of the ſaid Buſineſs.

And the ſaid Earl thereupon (this *Deponent* being withdrawn from the *King*) did declare unto this *Deponent*, and willed him to inpart the ſame unto the *Independents*, for their better encouragement, That *the King's Affairs proſpered well in* Ireland: That, *the* Iriſh *Subjects had given the Rebels* (meaning the Parliaments Forces) *a great Defeat*: That, *the King had ſent the* Lord Byron *with a ſmall Party towards* Cheſhire, *and that he was greatly multiplied, and had a conſiderable Army, and was then before* Namptwich, *and would be ſtrengthened with more Soldiers out of* Ireland, *which were come and expected*

pected dayly: And when this *Deponent* was to depart out of *Oxford*, four ſafe Conducts with Blanks in them, for the inſerting of what Names this *Deponent* pleaſed, were delivered to him, under the *King's* Hand and Seal; and one *Ogle* was ſent out of *Oxon* with this *Deponent*, to treat about the Delivering up of *Alisbury* to the King, it being then a Garriſon for the Parliament, and at the ſame time *Oxford* was a Garriſon for the King.

Several Papers and Letters of the King's, under his own Hand, and of his own Writing, and other Papers are produced and read in open Court.

Mr. *Thomas Challoner* alſo reporteth ſeveral Papers and Letters of the Kings writing, and under the Kings own Hand.

After which the Court ſate private.

The Court taking into Conſideration the whole Matter in Charge againſt the King, paſſed theſe *Votes* following, as preparatory to the Sentence againſt the King, but Ordered that they ſhould not be binding finally to conclude the Court, *viz.*

Reſolved upon the whole matter, *That this Court will Proceed to* Sentence *of* Condemnation *againſt* Charles Stuart, *King of* England.

Reſolved, *&c. That the* Condemnation *of the King ſhall be for a* Tyrant, Traitor *and* Murtherer.

That the Condemnation *of the King, ſhall be likewiſe for being a publique* Enemy *to the* Common-wealth *of* England.

That this Condemnation *ſhall extend to* Death.

Memorandum, *The laſt aforementioned Commiſſioners were preſent at theſe* Votes.

The Court being then moved concerning the Depoſition and Deprivation of the King before, and in Order to that part of his Sentence, which concerned his Execution, thought fit to defer the Conſideration thereof to ſome other time, and Ordered the Draught

of a Sentence grounded upon the ſaid Votes, to be accordingly prepared by Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Marten*, Col. *Harriſon*, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Say*, Commiſſary Gen. *Ireton* and Mr. *Love*, , or any three of them, with a Blank for the manner of his Death.

Ordered, *That the Members of this Court who are in and about* London, *and are not now preſent, be Summoned to attend the Service of this Court to morrow at One of the Clock in the Afternoon*; for whom Summons were iſſued forth accordingly.

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till the Morrow at One of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Veneris, 26 Jan. 1648. *poſt Merid.*

Painted Chamber,

Three Proclamations. *The Court called.*

Commiſſioners preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
Valentine Wauton.
Tho. Harriſon.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewers.
Thomas Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Kt.
William Heveningham.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Blakiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Michael Livesey*, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Adrian Scroope.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Wait.
Cornelius Holland.
Thomas Scot.
Francis Allen.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huſon.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
William Goffe.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Moore.
William Lord *Mounſon.*
Humphrey Edwards.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
John Dove.

John Venn.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Liſle.
Nicholas Love.
Auguſtine Garland.
George Fleetwood.
James Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Browne.
Henry Smith.
John Berkſtead.
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Bar.
Vincent Potter.

62 Commiſſioners preſent.

Here the Court ſate private.

The Draught of a Sentence againſt the King, is according to the Votes of the 25*th.* Inſtant, prepared, and after ſeveral Readings, Debates and Amendments, by the Court thereupon,

Reſolved, *&c.* That *this Court do agree to the Sentence now read.*

That, *the ſaid Sentence ſhall be ingroſſed.*

That, *the King be brought to* Weſtminſter *to morrow, to receive his Sentence.*

The Court Adjourned it ſelf till the Morrow at Ten of the Clock in the Morning to this Place; the Court giving notice that they then intended to Adjourn from thence to *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

Painted

Sabbati, 27 Jan. 1648.

Painted Chamber.

Three Proclamations being made, *The Court is thereupon called.*

Commiſſioners preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident.*

Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harriſon.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewers.
Tho. Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Baronet.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
William Heveningham.
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Berkſtead.
Matthew Tomlinſon.
John Blackiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
Auguſtine Garland.
George Fleetwood.
James Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Browne.
John Huſon.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Tho. Challoner.
John Moore.
William Say.
John Alured.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
Edmund Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scott.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. *of* Lond.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Tho. Hamond.
John Liſle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Waite.

The

The Sentence agreed on, and ordered by this Court 26 Inſtant, to be ingroſſed, being accordingly ingroſſed, was read.

Reſolved, *That the Sentence now read ſhall be the Sentence of this Court for the Condemnation of the King, which ſhall be Read and Publiſhed in* Weſtminſter-Hall *this day.*

The Court hereupon conſidered of certain Inſtructions for the *Lord Preſident*, to manage the Buſineſs of this day in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and Ordered,

That *the* Lord Preſident *do manage what Diſcourſe ſhall happen between him and the King, according to his diſcretion, with the advice of his two Aſſiſtants; and that in caſe the King ſhall ſtill perſiſt in excepting againſt the Courts Juriſdiction, to let him know that the Court do ſtill affirm their Juriſdiction.*

That, *in caſe the King ſhall ſubmit to the Jurisdiction of the Court, and pray a Copy of the Charge, that then the Court do withdraw and adviſe.*

That, *in caſe the King ſhall move any thing elſe worth the Courts Conſideration, that the* Lord Preſident *upon Advice of his ſaid Aſſiſtants, do give Order for the Courts withdrawing to adviſe.*

That, *in caſe the King ſhall not ſubmit to Anſwer, and there happen no ſuch Cauſe of withdrawing, that then the* Lord Preſident *do command the Sentence to be read; but that the* Lord Preſident *ſhould hear the* King *ſay what he would before the Sentence, and not after.*

And thereupon it being further moved, Whether the *Lord Preſident* ſhould uſe any Diſcourſe or Speeches to the King, as in the caſe of other Priſoners to be condemned, was uſual before the Publiſhing of the Sentence, received general Directions to do therein as he ſhould ſee cauſe, and to preſs what he ſhould conceive moſt ſeaſonable and ſutable to the Occaſion. And it was further directed, That after the Reading of the Sentence, the *Lord Preſident* ſhould declare, that the ſame was the Sentence, Judgment and Reſolution of the whole Court, and that the Commiſſioners ſhould thereupon ſignifie their Conſent by ſtanding up.

The Court forthwith Adjourned it ſelf to *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

27 Jan. 1648. *poſt Merid.*

Weſtminſter-Hall.

The *Lord Preſident*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners come together from the *Painted Chamber* to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, according to their Adjournment, and take their Seats there, as formerly; and three Proclamations being made for Attendance and Silence,

The Court is called.

The Commiſſioners Preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident* of this Court.

John Liſle.
William Say.
Oliver Crowwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Knight.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
William Heveningham.
Iſaac Pennington, Ald. of *Lond.*
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Barkſtead.
Matthew Tomlinſon.
John Blackiſtone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huſon.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregr. Pelham.
Daniel Blagrave.

Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harriſon.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewers.
Tho. L. *Grey* of *Groby.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer* Bar.
John Moore.
John Alured.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
Edmond Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of *Lond.*
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downs.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hamond.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Auguſtine Garland.
John Dixwell.
George Fleetwood.
Simon Meyne.
James Temple.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Waite.

67 Commiſſioners preſent.

The

The Priſoner is brought to the Bar, and Proclamation is again (as formerly) made for Silence; and the Captain of the Guard ordered to take into his Cuſtody all ſuch as ſhould diſturb the Court.

The *Preſident* ſtood up, with an intention of addreſs to the People, and not to the Priſoner, who had ſo often declined the Juriſdiction of the Court; which the Priſoner obſerving, moved he might be heard before Judgment given; whereof he received aſſurance from the Court, and that he ſhould be heard after he had heard them firſt.

Whereupon the Court proceeded, and remembred the great Aſſembly then preſent, of what had formerly paſſed betwixt the Court and the Priſoner, the Charge againſt him in the Name of the People of *England*, exhibited to them, being a Court conſtituted by the Supream Authority of *England*, his refuſal three ſeveral days and times to own them as a Court, or to anſwer to the Matter of his Charge, his thrice recorded Contumacy, and other his Contempts and Defaults in the precedent Courts; upon which, the Court then declared, that they might not be wanting to themſelves, or to the Truſt repoſed in them, and that no mans Wilfulneſs ought to ſerve him to prevent Juſtice; and that they had therefore thought fit to take the ſubſtance of what had paſſed, into their ſerious conſideration, to wit, the Charge, and the Priſoners Contumacy, and the Confeſſion which in Law doth ariſe upon that Contumacy, the Notoriety of the Fact charged, and other the Circumſtances material in the Cauſe; and upon the whole Matter, had reſolved and agreed upon a Sentence then ready to be pronounced againſt the Priſoner: But that in regard of his deſire to be further heard, they were ready to hear him as to any thing material which he would offer to their conſideration before the Sentence given, relating to the Defence of himſelf concerning the Matter charged; and did then ſignifie ſo much to the Priſoner; who made uſe of that leave given, only to proteſt his reſpects to the Peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject; and to ſay, That *the ſame made*

him

him at laſt to deſire, That having ſomewhat to ſay that concerned both, he might before the Sentence given, be heard in the Painted Chamber, *before the Lords and Commons*; ſaying, *it was fit to be heard, if it were Reaſon which he ſhould offer, whereof they were Judges*: And preſſing that Point much, he was forthwith anſwered by the Court, and told,

That, *that which he had moved was a declining of the Juriſdiction of the Court, whereof he had Caution frequently before given him.*

That, *it ſounded to further delay, of which he had been too much guilty.*

That, *the Court being founded (as often had been ſaid) upon the Authority of the* Commons *of* England, *in whom reſted the* Supream Juriſdiction, *the motion tended to ſet up another, or a co-ordinate Juriſdiction in derogation of the Power whereby the Court ſate, and to the manifeſt delay of their Juſtice; in which regard,* he was told, *they might forthwith proceed to Sentence; yet for his further ſatisfaction of the entire Pleaſure and Judgment of the Court, upon what he had then ſaid,* he was told, and accordingly it was declared, that *the Court would withdraw half an hour.*

The Priſoner by command being withdrawn, the Court make their receſs into the Room called The *Court of Wards*, conſidered of the Priſoners Motion, and gave the *Preſident* Direction to declare their Diſſent thereto, and to proceed to the Sentence.

The Court being again ſet, and the Priſoner returned, was according to their Direction, informed, That *he had in effect received his Anſwer before the Court withdrew, and that their Judgment was (as to his Motion) the ſame to him before declared*; That, *the Court acted, and were Judges appointed by the Higheſt Authority, and that Judges were not to delay, no more than to deny Juſtice*; That, *they were good words in the great old Charter of* England, Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli differemus Juſtitiam vel Rectum. That, *their Duty called upon them to avoid further Delays, and to proceed to Judgment; which was their unanimous Reſolution.*

Unto

Unto which, the Priſoner replied, and inſiſted upon his former Deſires, confeſſing a delay, but that it was important for the Peace of the Kingdom, and therefore preſſed again with much earneſtneſs to be heard before the Lords and Commons.

In Anſwer whereto, he was told by the Court, That *they had fully before conſidered of his Propoſal, and muſt give him the ſame Anſwer to his renewed deſires, and that they were ready to proceed to Sentence, if he had nothing more to ſay.*

Whereunto he ſubjoyned, *He had no more to ſay*; but deſired that might be Entred which he had ſaid.

Hereupon, after ſome Diſcourſe uſed by the *Preſident*, for vindicating the Parliaments Juſtice, explaining the Nature of the Crimes of which the Priſoner ſtood charged, and for which he was to be condemned; and by way of Exhortation to the Priſoner, to a ſerious Repentance for his high Tranſgreſſions againſt God and the People, and to prepare for his Eternal Condition;

The Sentence formerly agreed upon, and put down in Parchment-Writing, *O Yes* being firſt made for Silence, was by the Courts Command, ſolemnly pronounced and given: the Tenor whereof followeth.

Whereas the Commons *of* England *Aſſembled in Parliament, have by their late Act, Entituled,* An Act of the *Commons* of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, for Erecting of an *High Court of Juſtice* for the Trying and Judging of *CHARLES STUART* K. *of* England; *Authorized and Conſtituted us an* High Court of Juſtice *for the Trying and Judging of the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *for the Crimes and Treaſons in the ſaid Act mentioned; By vertue whereof, the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *hath been three ſeveral times convented before this High Court, where, the firſt Day, being* Saturday *the Twentieth of* Jan. *inſtant, in purſuance of the ſaid Act, a Charge of high Treaſon and other high Crimes, was in the behalf of the People of* England, *Exhibited againſt him, and read openly unto him, wherein he was charged, That he the ſaid* CHARLES

STUART, *being admitted King of* England, *and therein truſted with a limited Power, to govern by and according to the Law of the Land, and not otherwiſe; and by his Truſt, Oath and Office, being obliged to uſe the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked Deſign to erect and uphold in himſelf an Unlimited and Tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Redreſs and Remedy of Miſgovernment, which by the Fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom were reſerved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments, or National Meetings in Councel, he, the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *for accompliſhment of ſuch his Deſigns, and for the protecting of himſelf and his Adherents in his and their wicked Practices, to the ſame End, hath trayterouſly and maliciouſly Levied War againſt the preſent Parliament, and People therein repreſented, as with the Circumſtances of Time and Place, is in the ſaid Charge more particularly ſet forth; And that he hath thereby cauſed and procured many Thouſands of the free People of this Nation to be ſlain; and by Diviſions, Parties and Inſurrections within this Land, by Invaiſons from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, he the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *hath not only maintained and carried on the ſaid War both by Sea and Land, but alſo hath renewed or cauſed to be renewed the ſaid War againſt the Parliament and good People of this Nation in this preſent Year* 1648. *in ſeveral Counties and Places in this Kingdom in the Charge ſpecified; and that he hath for that purpoſe given his Commiſſion to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby beſides multitudes of other perſons, many, ſuch as were by the Parliament intruſted and employed, for the Safety of this Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Truſt, and revolting from the Parliament, have had Entertainment and Commiſſion for the continuing and renewing of the War and Hoſtility againſt the ſaid Parliament and People; and that by the ſaid cruel and unnatural War ſo levied, continued and renewed, much innocent Blood of the free People of this Nation hath been ſpilt, many Families undone, the Publick Treaſure waſted,*

Trade

Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decayed, vaſt expence and dammage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land ſpoiled, ſome of them even to deſolation; and that he ſtill continues his Commiſſion to his ſaid Son, and other Rebels and Revolters, both Engliſh *and* Foreigners, *and to the Earl of* Ormond, *and to the* Iriſh Rebels *and Revolters aſſociated with him, from whom further Invaſions upon this Land are threatned by his Procurement, and on his behalf; And that all the ſaid wicked Deſigns, Wars and evil Practices of him the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *were ſtill carried on for the Advancement and Upholding of the Perſonal Intereſt of Will, Power and pretended Prerogative to himſelf and his Family, againſt the Publick Intereſt, Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice and Peace of the People of this Nation; And that he thereby hath been and is the Occaſioner, Author and Continuer of the ſaid unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Dammage, & Miſchief to this Nation, acted and committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby: Whereupon, the Proceedings and Judgment of this Court were prayed againſt him, as a Tyrant, Traytor and Murtherer, and publick Enemy to the Commonwealth, as by the ſaid Charge more fully appeareth: To which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, He the ſaid* CHARLES STUART *was required to give his Anſwer; but he refuſed ſo to do. And upon* Monday, *the twenty ſecond day of* January *inſtant, being again brought before this Court, and there required to anſwer directly to the ſaid Charge, he ſtill refuſed ſo to do; whereupon his Default and Contumacy was Entred: and the next day, being the third time brought before the Court, Judgment was then prayed againſt him on the behalf of the People of* England, *for his Contumacy, and for the Matters contained againſt him in the ſaid Charge, as taking the ſame for confeſt, in regard of his refuſing to Anſwer thereto: Yet notwithſtanding, this Court (not willing to take advantage of his Contempt) did once more require him to Anſwer to the ſaid Charge, but he again refuſed ſo to do; Upon which his ſeveral Defaults, this Court might juſtly have proceeded to Judgment againſt him, both for his Contumacy, and the Matters of the Charge, taking the ſame for confeſt, as aforeſaid.*

Yet

Yet nevertheleſs, this Court for their own clearer Information, and further ſatisfaction, have thought fit to examine Witneſſes upon Oath, and take notice of other Evidences touching the Matters contained in the ſaid Charge, which accordingly they have done.

Now therefore upon ſerious and mature deliberation of the Premiſes, and conſideration had of the Notoreity of the Matters of Fact charged upon him as aforeſaid, this Court is in judgment and Conſcience ſatisfied that he the ſaid CHARLES STUART is guilty of Levying War againſt the ſaid Parliament, and People, and maintaining and continuing the ſame; for which in the ſaid Charge he ſtands accuſed, and by the general courſe of his Government, Councels and Practices before and ſince this Parliament began (which have been, and are notorious and publick, and the Effects whereof remain abundantly upon Record) this Court is fully ſatisfied in their Judgments and Conſciences, that he hath been and is guilty of the wicked Deſigns and Endeavors in the ſaid Charge ſet forth, and that the ſaid War hath been Levied, maintained and continued by him, as aforeſaid, in proſecution and for accompliſhment of the ſaid Deſigns; And that he hath been and is the Occaſioner, Author and Continuer of the ſaid unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of High Treaſon, and of the Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Dammage and Miſchief to this Nation, acted and committed in the ſaid War, and occaſioned thereby. For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That he the ſaid CHARLES STUART, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer and Publick Enemy to the good People of this Nation, ſhall be put to Death by the ſevering of his Head from his Body.

This Sentence being read, the *Preſident* ſpake as followeth;

The Sentence now Read and Publiſhed, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Reſolution of the whole Court.

Whereupon the whole Court ſtood up and owned it.

The Priſoner being withdrawn, the Court Adjourned it ſelf forthwith into the *Painted Chamber.*

The

The Court being ſate in the *Painted Chamber*, according to Adjournment from *Weſtminſter-Hall* aforeſaid;

Painted Chamber.

Commiſſioners preſent.

John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord Preſident.*

John Liſle.
William Say.
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
Thomas Waite.
Thomas Harriſon.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewers.
Tho. Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Baronet.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
William Heveningham.
Iſaac Pennington Ald. of *Lond.*
John Downes.
Henry Marten.
John Berkſtead.
Matthew Tomlinſon.
Gilbert Millington.
John Blackiſtone.
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
John Hutchinſon.
Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Bar.
John Dixwell.
James Temple.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. *of* Lond.
Anthony Stapeley.
Tho. Hamond.
Peter Temple.
Edmund Ludlow.
Robert Tichbourne.
Nicholas Love.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
Simon Meyne.
John Huſon.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Tho. Challoner.
John Moore.
John Alured.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bar.
John Venn.
Thomas Scott.
Edmund Harvey.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
Auguſtine Garland.
Daniel Blagrave.

64 Commiſſioners preſent.

Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Harriſon*, Commiſſary Gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Deane*, *and* Col. *Okey*, are appointed to conſider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the Sentence againſt the King.

And then the Court Adjourned it ſelf till *Monday* Morning at Eight of the Clock to this Place.

The more full Account of this Days Action, take as follows.

The King being come in in his wonted Poſture, with his Hat on, ſome of the Soldiers began to call for *Juſtice*, *Juſtice*, and *Execution*: But Silence being Commanded, *His* Majeſty began:

I deſire a Word, to be heard a little; and I hope I ſhall give no occaſion of Interruption.

Bradſhaw Sawcily Anſwered,

You may anſwer in your time, Hear the Court firſt.

His Majeſty patiently Replied,

If it pleaſe you, Sir, *I deſire to be heard; and I ſhall not give any occaſion of interruption; and it is only in a word. A ſudden Judgment----*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You ſhall be heard in due time; but you are to hear the Court firſt.

King. Sir, *I deſire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will ſay: and therefore,* Sir,----*A haſty Judgment is not ſo ſoon recalled.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You ſhall be heard before the Judgment be given; and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. *Well, Sir, Shall I be heard before the Judgment be given?*

Bradſhaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or moſt of you here preſent, That the Priſoner at the Bar hath been ſeveral times convented and brought before this Court, to make Anſwer to a Charge of Treaſon and other high Crimes exhibited againſt him in the Name of the People of *England*: To which Charge being required to Anſwer, he hath been ſo far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reaſoning and Debate unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Higheſt Court, that ap-

Here a Lady interpos'd ſaying, Not half the People; *but was ſilenced with Threats.*

pointed them to Try and Judge him: But being overruled in that,, and required to make his Anſwer, he was ſtill pleaſed to continue contumacious, and to refuſe to ſubmit to anſwer.

Hereupon, the Court, that they might not be wanting to themſelves, nor the Truſt repoſed in them, nor that any mans Wilfulneſs prevent Juſtice, they have thought fit to take the Matter into their conſideration; they have conſidered of the Charge, they have conſidered of the Contumacy, and of that Confeſſion which in Law doth ariſe upon that Contumacy; they have likewiſe conſidered of the Notoriety of the Fact charged upon this Priſoner: And upon the whole Matter, they are reſolved, and are agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced againſt this Priſoner. But in reſpect he doth deſire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath reſolved that they will hear him.

Yet, *Sir*, Thus much I muſt tell you beforehand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, That if that which you have to ſay, be to offer any debate concerning the Juriſdiction, you are not to be heard in it. You have offered it formerly, and you have ſtruck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supream Authority of the *Commons* of *England*; which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed it is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, *Sir*, if you have any thing to ſay in Defence of your ſelf concerning the Matter Charged, the Court hath given me in command to let you know they will hear you.

King. *Since I ſee that you will not hear any thing of Debate concerning that which I confeſs I thought moſt material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I ſhall wave it, I ſhall ſpeak nothing to it: But only I muſt tell you, That this many-a-day all things have been taken away from Me, but that that I call dearer to Me than My Life, which is* My Conſcience, *and* My Honour: *And if I had a reſpect to* My Life *more than the* Peace *of the* Kingdom, *and the* Liberty *of the* Subject, *certainly I ſhould*

I ſhould have made a particular Defence for my ſelf; for by that at leaſtwiſe I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will paſs upon me. Therefore certainly, Sir, *as a man that hath ſome underſtanding, ſome knowledge of the World, if that my true Zeal to my Countrey, had not overborn the care that I have for my own Preſervation, I ſhould have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now,* Sir, *I conceive that an haſty Sentence once paſt, may ſooner be repented of, than recalled: And truly, the ſelf ſame deſire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular Ends, makes me now at laſt deſire,* That I having ſomething to ſay that concerns both, before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the *Painted Chamber* before the Lords and Commons. *This Delay cannot be prejudicial unto you, whatſoever I ſay. If that I ſay no reaſon, thoſe that hear me muſt be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have. If it be Reaſon, and really for the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am ſure on it, it is very well worth the hearing: Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that that you pretend, (I hope it is real) the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this Hearing before any Sentence be paſt. I only deſire this, That you will take this into your conſideration; it may be you have not heard of it beforehand. If you will, I will retire, and you may think of it: but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do proteſt, That theſe fair Shews of Liberty and Peace are pure Shews, and that you will not hear your King.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You have now ſpoken.

King. *Yes,* Sir.

Bradſhaw. And this that you have ſaid, is a further declining of the Juriſdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. *Pray excuſe Me,* Sir, *for my interruption, becauſe you miſtake Me. It is not a declining of it; you do judge Me before you hear me ſpeak. I ſay it will not, I do not decline it; though I cannot acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court, yet,* Sir, *in this, give Me leave to ſay, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it; in this I do proteſt, it is not the declining of it, ſince, I ſay, if that I do ſay any thing but that*

that

that is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, then the ſhame is Mine. Now I deſire that you will take this into your conſideration: if you will, I will withdraw.

Bradſhaw. Sir, This is not altogether new that you have moved to us, not altogether new to us, though the firſt time in perſon you have offered it to the Court. *Sir*, You ſay you do not decline the Juriſdiction of the Court.

King. *Not in this that I have ſaid.*

Bradſhaw. I underſtand you well, *Sir*; but nevertheleſs, that which you have offered, ſeems to be contrary to that Saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence. It is not as you ſay, *That they will not hear their King*; for they have been ready to hear You; they have patiently waited Your pleaſure for three Courts together, to hear what You would ſay to the Peoples Charge againſt You: To which You have not vouchſafed to give any Anſwer at all. *Sir*, this tends to a further Delay. Truly, *Sir*, ſuch Delays as theſe, neither may the Kingdom nor Juſtice well bear. You have had three ſeveral days to have offered in this kind what You would have pleaſed. This Court is founded upon that Authority of the *Commons* of *England*, in whom reſts the Supream Juriſdiction. That which You now tender, is to have another Juriſdiction, and a co-ordinate Juriſdiction. I know very well You expreſs Your ſelf, *Sir*, That notwithſtanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, yet nevertheleſs You would proceed on here; I did hear You ſay ſo. But, *Sir*, that You would offer there, whatever it is, muſt needs be in Delay of the Juſtice here; ſo as if this Court be reſolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that You offer they are not bound to grant. But, *Sir*, According to that You ſeem to deſire, and becauſe You ſhall know the further Pleaſure of the Court upon that which You have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

This he did to prevent the diſturbance of their Scene by one of their own Members, Col. *John Downes*, who could not ſtifle the Reluctance of his Conſcience, when he ſaw his Majeſty preſs ſo earneſtly for a ſhort Hearing; but declaring himſelf unſatisfied, forced them to yield to the King's Requeſt.

King. *Shall I withdraw?*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You ſhall know the Pleaſure of the Court preſently.

The Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at Arms. The Court gives Command that the Priſoner be withdrawn; and they give Order for his Return again.

Then withdrawing into the Chamber of the *Court of Wards*, their Buſineſs was not to conſider of His Majeſties Deſire, but to chide *Downes*, and with Reproachs and Threats to harden him to go through the remainder of their Villany with them.

Which done, they return; and being ſate, Bradſhaw *commanded,*

Serjeant at Arms, Send for your Priſoner.

Who being come, Bradſhaw *proceeded.*

Sir, You were pleaſed to make a Motion here to the Court, to offer a Deſire of yours touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, for the Peace of the Kingdom. *Sir,* You did in effect receive an Anſwer before the Court Adjourned: Truly, *Sir,* their Withdrawing and Adjournment was *pro forma tantum*; for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing.

thing. They have conſidered of what you have moved, and have conſidered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often ſaid, upon the Supream Authority of the *Commons* of *England* Aſſembled in *Parliament*: The Court acts accordingly to their Commiſſion. *Sir*, The Return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer, hath occaſioned ſome little further Delay; and they are Judges appointed by the higheſt Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Juſtice: They are good Words in the *Great Old Charter* of *England*, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus Juſtitiam*: There muſt be no Delay. But the truth is, *Sir*, and ſo every man here obſerves it, that you have much delayed them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might long ſince have proceeded to Judgment againſt you; and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous Reſolution.

King. *Sir, I know it is in vain for me to diſpute; I am no Sceptick for to deny the Power that you have; I know that you have Power enough.* Sir, *I muſt confeſs, I think it would have been for the Kingdoms Peace, if you would have taken the pains to have ſhewn the Lawfulneſs of your Power.*

For this Delay that I have deſired, I confeſs it is a Delay; but it is a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom: For it is not My Perſon that I loook at alone, it is the Kingdoms Welfare, and the Kingdoms Peace.

It is an old Sentence, That we ſhould think on long before we reſolve of great Matters ſuddenly. *Therefore,* Sir, *I do ſay again, that I do put at your doors all the inconveniency of a haſty Sentence. I confeſs I have been here now, I think, this Week, this day eight days was the day I came here firſt; but a little Delay of a Day or two further, may give Peace, whereas a haſty Judgment may bring on that trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent it. And therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God and to My Countrey, I do deſire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the* Painted Chamber,

Chamber, *or any other* Chamber *that you will appoint Me.*

Bradſhaw. You have been already anſwered to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgment of the Court in it; And the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to ſay for your ſelf than you have ſaid, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. *I ſay this,* Sir, *That if you hear Me, if you will give Me but this Delay, I doubt not but I ſhall give ſome ſatisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that you will conſider it once again.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, I have received Direction from the Court.

King. *Well,* Sir.

Bradſhaw. If this muſt be re-inforced, or any thing of this nature, your Anſwer muſt be the ſame; and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to ſay.

King. I *have nothing more to ſay; but* I *ſhall deſire that this may be entred what* I *have ſaid.*

Bradſhaw. The Court then, *Sir,* hath ſomething to ſay unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithſtanding they are willing and are reſolved to diſcharge their Duty.

Then *Bradſhaw* went on in a long Harangue, endeavouring to juſtifie their Proceedings, miſapplying Law and Hiſtory, and raking up and wreſting whatſoever he thought fit for his purpoſe, alledging the Examples of former Treaſons and Rebellions, both at home and abroad, as authentick Proofs; and concluding, that the King was a *Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer,* and *Publick Enemy* to the *Commonwealth* of *England.*

His

His Majeſty having with his wonted Patience heard all theſe Reproaches, anſwered,

I would deſire only one Word before you give Sentence, and that is, That you would hear Me concerning thoſe great imputations that you have laid to My Charge.

Bradſhaw. Sir, You muſt give me now leave to go on; for I am not far from your Sentence, and your time is now paſt.

King. *But I ſhall deſire you will hear Me a few Words to you; for, truly, whatever Sentence you will put upon Me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy imputations that I ſee by your ſpeech you have put upon Me.* Sir, *it is very true that*—

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt put you in mind: Truly, *Sir*, I would not willingly, at this time eſpecially, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay that is proper for us to admit of: But, *Sir*, You haue not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a ſort of People met together, and we know what Language we receive from your Party.

King. *I know nothing of that.*

Bradſhaw. You diſavow us as a Court, and therefore for you to addreſs your ſelf to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you ſay, it is not to be permitted. And the truth is, all along from the firſt time you were pleaſed to diſavow and diſown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word; for unleſs they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to ſpeak. *Sir*, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any further. Were it proper for us to do, we ſhould hear you freely, and we ſhould not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have ſaid or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excuſing, or for in part excuſing thoſe great and heinous Charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, *Sir*, I ſhall trouble you no longer; your Sins are of ſo large a dimenſion, that if you do but ſeriouſly think of them, they will drive you to a ſad

conſideration, and they may improve in you a ſad and ſerious Repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wiſh, that you may be ſo penitent for what you have done amiſs, that God may have Mercy at leaſtwiſe upon your better part. Truly, *Sir*, for the other, it is our Parts and Duties to do that that the Law preſcribes. We are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*: We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us; *For to acquit the Guilty, is of equal abomination as to condemn the Innocent.* We may not acquit the Guilty. What Sentence the Law affirms to a *Traytor*, *Tyrant*, *a Murtherer*, and *a Publick Enemy* to the *Country*, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you; and that is the Sentence of the Court.

Make an *O Yes*, and command Silence while the *Sentence* is read.

Which done, their Clerk, *Broughton*, read the *Sentence*, drawn up in Parchment.

Whereas the Commons *of* England *in Parliament, had appointed them an High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of* CHARLES STUART, *King of* England, *before whom he had been three times convented, and at the firſt time a Charge of* High Treaſon, *and other* Crimes *and* Miſdemeanors, *was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of* England,

[*Here the Charge was repeated.*]

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, he the ſaid CHARLES STUART, *was required to give his Anſwer; but he refuſed ſo to do:*

[Expreſſing the ſeveral Paſſages of his refuſing in the former Proceedings.]

For all which Treaſons *and* Crimes, *this Court doth adjudge, That he the ſaid* CHARLES STUART, *as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, *and a* Publick Enemy, *ſhall be put to Death by the ſevering of his Head from his Body.*

Which

Which being read, *Bradſhaw* added,

The Sentence now Read and Publiſhed, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Reſolution of the whole Court.

To which they all expreſſed their Aſſent by ſtanding up, as was before Agreed and Ordered.

His *Majeſty* then ſaid,

Will you hear me a Word, Sir?

Bradſhaw. Sir, You are not to be heard after the *Sentence.*

King. *No,* Sir?

Bradſhaw. No, *Sir*; by your Favour, *Sir.*

Guard, Withdraw your Priſoner.

King. *I may ſpeak after Sentence, by your favour,* Sir, *I may ſpeak after* Sentence, *ever.*

By your favour, hold: *the* Sentence, *Sir,* --- *I ſay,* Sir, *I do*----

I am not ſuffered to ſpeak; expect what Juſtice other People will have.

His Majeſty being taken away by the Guard, as he paſſed down the Stairs, the inſolent Soldiers ſcoffed at him, caſting the ſmoke of their Tobacco (a thing very diſtaſtful unto him) in his Face, and throwing their Pipes in his way; And one more inſolent than the reſt, ſpitting in his Face, his Majeſty, according to his wonted Heroick Patience, took no more notice of ſo ſtrange and barbarous an Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchief.

As he paſſed along, hearing the Rabble of Soldiers, crying out, *Juſtice, Juſtice*; he ſaid,

Poor Souls, for a piece of Money they would do ſo for their Commanders.

Being brought firſt to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s, and thence to *Whitehall*, the Soldiers continued tneir brutiſh Carriage toward him, abuſing all that ſeemed to ſhew any reſpect, or even Pity to him; not ſuffering him to reſt in his Chamber, but thruſting in, and ſmoking their Tobacco, and diſturbing his Privacy.

But through all theſe Tryals (unuſual to Princes) he paſſed with ſuch a calm and even Temper, that he let fall nothing unbeſeeming his former Majeſty and Magnanimity.

In

In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with his Majeſties Deſire, *That ſeeing they had paſſed a Sentence of Death upon him, and his time might be nigh, he might ſee his Children*; and Doctor Juxon *Biſhop of* London, *might be admitted to aſſiſt him in his private Devotions, and Receiving the Sacrament.*

Both which at length were granted.

And the next day, being *Sunday*, He was attended by the *Guard* to S. *James*'s; where the Biſhop Preached before Him upon theſe Words, *In the day when God ſhall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel.*

HIS

HIS MAJESTIES SPEECH TO THE Lady *ELIZABETH*, AND *HENRY* Duke of *GLOUCESTER*, January 29. 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

Of His Majeſties Diſcourſe to His Children, there being Several Relations, it is thought fit to repreſent the Several Copies.

I.

A True Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady Elizabeth, *and the Duke of* Glouceſter, *the Day before his Death.*

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He firſt gave His Bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, whenever ſhe ſhould ſee him, that it was his Fathers laſt Deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his Eldeſt Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign: And that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then ſaid the King to her, *Sweet-Heart, You will forget this.* No, ſaid ſhe, *I ſhall never forget it whilſt I live*; and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promiſed Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the D. of *Glouceſter* upon His Knee, ſaid, *Sweet-Heart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head* (upon which Words, the Child looked very ſtedfaſtly upon Him) *Mark*, Child, *what I ſay; They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make Thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King ſo long as Your Brothers* Charles *and* James *do live; for they will cut off Your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off Thy Head too at laſt; and therefore I charge You, do not be made a King by them.* At which, the Child ſighing, ſaid, *I will be torn in pieces firſt.* Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

II.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *own Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to Me the 29*th.* of *January* 1648. Being the laſt time I had the happineſs to ſee Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come; and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to me, which He had not to another, or leave in Writing, becauſe He feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment my ſelf for Him, for that would be a *Glorious Death* that He ſhould die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the *True Proteſtant Religion.* He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews*'s Sermons, *Hooker*'s Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and Biſhop *Laud*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*; which would ground me againſt *Popery.* He told me, He had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His Thoughts had never ſtrayed from her, and that His Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withal He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her, and bid me

ſend

ſend His Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends.

So after He had given me His Bleſſing, I took my Leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive thoſe People, but never to truſt them, for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them Power; and He feared alſo to their own Souls: And deſired me not to grieve for Him, for he ſhould die a *Martyr*; and that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that we ſhould be all happier than we could have expected to have been if he had lived. With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

III.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THE King ſaid to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, That he would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his Soul. He told him, that he heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the Welfare of his Soul, for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon his Bleſſing never to accept of it, unleſs it redounded lawfully upon him; and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

Painted

Painted Chamber.

Lunæ, 29 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations made.

The Court is called.

The Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord President* of this Court.

Oliver Crowwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardress Waller*, Knight.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Richard Ingoldsby.
Tho. L. *Grey* of *Groby.*
Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Barkstead.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir *William Constable*, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Sir *Michael Livesey*, Bar.
James Temple.
John Dixwell.
Peter Temple.
Robert Tichbourne.

Owen Roe.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
John Jones.
Francis Allen.
Peregr. Pelham.
John Anlaby.
William Say.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland.
Simon Meyne.
Daniel Blagrave.

48 Commissioners present.

Upon Report made from the ~~Committee for~~ considering the Time and Place of the Executing of the Judgment against the King, that the said Committee have Resolved, That the open Street before *White-Hall*, is a fit Place, and that the said Committee conceive it fit that the King be there Executed the Morrow, the King having already Notice thereof; The Court approved thereof, and Ordered a Warrant

to

to be drawn for that purpoſe; which ſaid Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto, and Ordered to be Engroſſed; which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth, *viz.*

At the High Court of Juſtice *for the Trying and Judging of* CHARLES STUART, *King of* England, *Jan.* 29. 1648.

WHereas CHARLES STUART, King of *England*, is and ſtandeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of *High Treaſon*, and other *High Crimes*, and *Sentence* upon *Saturday* laſt was Pronounced againſt him by this Court, to be put to Death by the ſevering of his Head from his Body, of which *Sentence*, Execution yet remaineth to be done; Theſe are therefore to Will and Require you to ſee the ſaid *Sentence* Executed in the open Street before *White-Hall*, upon the Morrow, being the Thirtieth Day of this inſtant Month of *January*, between the hours of Ten in the Morning, and Five in the Afternoon of the ſame Day, with full effect. And for ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers, Soldiers and others, the Good People of this Nation of *England*, to be aſſiſting unto you in this Service.

Given under our Hands and Seals.

To Col. *Francis Hacker*, Col. *Huncks*, *and* Lieutenant Col. *Phray*, *and to every of them.*

Sealed and Subſcribed by

John Bradſhaw.
Tho. Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
Edward Whalley.
Michael Liveſey.
John Okey.
John Danvers.
John Bourchier.
Henry Ireton.
Thomas Maleverer.
John Blackiſtone.
John Hutchinſon.
William Goffe.
Thomas Pride.
Peter Temple.
Tho. Harriſon.
John Huſon.
Henry Smith.
Peregrine Pelham.
Simon Meyne.
Thomas Horton.
John Jones.
John Moore.
Hardreſs Waller.
Gilbert Millington.
George Fleetwood.
John Alured.
Robert Lilbourne.
William Say.
Anthony Stapeley.
Richard Deane.
Robert Tichbourne.
Humphrey Edwards.
Daniel Blagrave.
Owen Roe.
William Purefoy.
Adrian Scroope.
James Temple.
Auguſtine Garland.
Edmund Ludlow.
Henry Marten.
Vincent Potter.
William Conſtable.
Richard Ingoldsby.
William Cawley.
John Berkſtead.
Iſaac Ewers.
John Dixwell.
Valentine Wauton.
Gregory Norton.
Tho. Challoner.
Thomas Wogan.
John Venn.
Gregory Clement.
John Downes.
Thomas Waite.
Thomas Scott.
John Carew.
Miles Corbet.

It was Ordered, *That the Officers of the* Ordnance *within the Tower of* London, *or any other Officer or Officers of the Store within the ſaid Tower, in whoſe Hands or Cuſtody the bright Execution-Axe for the Executing Malefactors, is, do forthwith deliver unto* Edward Dendy, *Eſq;* Serjeant at Arms, *attending this Court, or his Deputy or Deputies, the ſaid Axe*; and for their or either of their ſo doing, this ſhall be their Warrant.

Directed to Col. *John White, or any other Officer within the Tower of* London, *whom it concerneth.*

The

The Court Adjourned till to morrow Morning at Nine of the Clock.

* *Mercurii*, 30 Jan. 1648. * *Martis.*

Painted Chamber,

Commiſſioners meet.

Ordered, *That Mr.* Marſhall, *Mr.* Nye, *Mr.* Caryl, *Mr.* Salway, *and Mr.* Dell *be deſired to Attend the King, to Adminiſter to him thoſe Spiritual Helps as ſhould be ſutable to his preſent Condition. And Lieut. Col.* Goffe *is deſired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpoſe.*

Who did ſo, but after informed the Court, That the King being aquainted therewith, refuſed to confer with them; expreſſing, that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That *the Scaffold upon which the King is to be Executed, be covered with Black.*

The Warrant for Executing the King, being accordingly delivered to thoſe Parties to whom the ſame was directed, Execution was done upon him, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Warrant, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the ſaid Thirtieth of *January.*

Mr. Phelpes *makes as ſhort Work of this part of the Narrative, as his* Infamous Maſters *had done of their* Pretended Tryal *of this* Illuſtrious Innocent; *and therefore to ſupply that Defect, take the following Account of the Concluſion of this* Diſmal Tragedy.

Tueſday, the Thirtieth of *January*, the Fatal Day, being come, the Commiſſioners met, and Ordered four or five of their Miniſters to attend upon the King at St. *James*'s, where they then kept him; but his Majeſty well knowing what miſerable Comforters they were like to prove, refuſed to have Conference with them.

That Morning, before his Majeſty was brought thence, the Biſhop of *London* (who with much ado was permitted to wait upon him a day or two before, and to aſſiſt him in that ſad Inſtant) read Divine Service in his Preſence; in which the 27th. of St. *Matt.* (the Hiſtory of our Saviours Crucifixion) proved the Second Leſſon. The King ſuppoſing it to have been ſelected on purpoſe, thank'd him afterwards for his ſeaſonable Choice: But the Biſhop modeſtly declining that, undue Thanks, told him that it was the *Leſſon* appointed by the *Calendar* for that day, He alſo then and there received of the Biſhop the *Holy Sacrament*, and performed all his Devotions in preparation to his Paſſion.

Which ended, about Ten of the Clock his Majeſty was brought from St. *James*'s to *White-Hall*, by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying and Drums beating, part marching before, and part behind, with a private Guard of Partiſans about him, the Biſhop on the one hand, and Col. *Tomlinſon* (who had the Charge of him) on the other, both bare-headed, his Majeſty walking very faſt, and bidding them go faſter, added,

That, *he now went before them to ſtrive for an Heavenly Crown,*

Crown, with leſs ſolicitude than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.

Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the *Long Gallery* in *White-Hall*,& ſo into the *Cabinet-Chamber*, where he us'd formerly to lodge. There finding an unexpected Delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had not as then fitted, he paſt the time, at convenient Diſtances, in Prayer.

About Twelve of the Clock, his Majeſty refuſing to Dine, , only eat a Bit of Bread, and drank a Glaſs of Claret; and about an hour after, Col. *Hacker*, with other Officers and Soldiers, brought him, with the Biſhop and Col. *Tomlinſon*, through the *Banquetting-Houſe* to the Scaffold, to which, the Paſſage was made through a Window.

Divers Companies of Foot and Troops of Horſe were placed on each ſide of the Street, which hindred the Approach of the very numerous Spectators, and the King from ſpeaking what he had premeditated, and prepared for them to hear.

Whereupon, his Majeſty finding himſelf diſappointed, omitted much of his intended Matter; and for what he meant to ſpeak, directed himſelf chiefly to Col. *Tomlinſon.*

I ſhall be very little heard of any body here; I ſhall therefore ſpeak a Word unto you here.

Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make ſome men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſhment: But I think it is my Duty, to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian.

I ſhall begin firſt with my *Innocence.*

In troth, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this; for all the World knows that I never did begin a War firſt with the Two Houſes of Parliament, *and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an Account, that I never did intend for to encroach upon their Priviledges; they*

began upon me; it is the Militia they began upon; they confeſt that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me. And to be ſhort, if any body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, they will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I. So that as to the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it. I will not (I am in Charity) God forbid that I ſhould lay it on the Two Houſes of Parliament; *there is no neceſſity of either: I hope they are free of this Guilt. For I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me have been the chief Cauſe of all this Bloodſhed: So that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon me; many times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence; that is ordinary: I will only ſay this, That* an unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffered to take effect, is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me. *That is,* — *So far I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an* Innocent Man.

Upon the E. of Strafford

Now for to ſhew you that I am a *good Chriſtian*;

Pointing to the Biſhop.

I hope there is a good Man that will bear me witneſs that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe in particular that have been the chief cauſers of my Death: Who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go further; I wiſh that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great Sin *in that Particular; I pray God with St.* Stephen, *that* this be not laid to their Charge. *Nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom: For my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the laſt gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul, (and I do hope there is ſome here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Turning to ſome Gentlemen that wrote,

Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way.

Firſt, *You are out of the way: For certainly all the way you*

you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt. Certainly this is an ill way; for Conqueſt, Sir, in my opinion, is never juſt, except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for matter of wrong or juſt Title; and then if you go beyond it, the firſt Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjuſt at the end that was juſt at the firſt. But if it be only matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, *as a Pyrate ſaid to* Alexander *the Great, That* he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber. *And ſo,* Sir, *I do think the way that you are in is much out of the way.*

Now, Sir, *for to put you in the way; believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give* God *his Due, the* King *his Due* (*that is,* My Succeſſors) *and the* People *their Due: I am as much for* Them *as any of you.*

You muſt give God *his Due, by Regulating rightly his Church according to his Scripture, which is now out of Order. For to ſet you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a* National Synod, freely Called, freely Debating among themſelves, *muſt ſettle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.*

For the King, *indeed I will not.*------

(Then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Axe, he ſaid,

Hurt not the Axe, that may hurt me.)

For the King, *The Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore, becauſe it concerns my own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it.*

For the People: *And truly I deſire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomſoever; but I muſt tell you that their Liberty and Freedom conſiſts in having of Government, thoſe Laws by which their Life and their Goods may be moſt their own. It is not for having ſhare in Government,* Sir; *that is nothing pertaining to them: a Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things. And therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves. Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbi-*

Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the MARTYR *of the* People.

In troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer; for I will only ſay this to you, That in truth I could have deſired ſome little time longer, becauſe that I would have put this that I have ſaid in little more order, and a little better digeſted than I have done, *and therefore I hope you will excuſe me.*

I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God that you do take thoſe courſes that are beſt for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvation.

Then the Biſhop *ſaid,*

Though it be very well known what your Majeſties Affections are to the Proteſtant Religion, yet it may be expected that You ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the Worlds ſatisfaction in that Particular.

Whereupon the *King* replied,

I thank you very heartily, My Lord, *for that, I had almoſt forgotten it.*

In troth, Sirs, *My Conſcience in Religion, I think is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That* I die a Chriſtian according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England,* as I found it left me by my Father; *and this honeſt man I think will witneſs it.*

Pointing to the Biſhop.

Then turning to the Officers, *He ſaid,*

Sirs, Excuſe me for this ſame, I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God, *I will ſay no more.*

Then to Col. *Hacker* he ſaid,

Take care that they do not put me to pain. And, Sir, *this, and it pleaſe you----*

But

But a Gentleman coming near the Axe, the King ſaid,

Take heed of the Axe, pray take heed of the Axe.

And to the Executioner *he ſaid,*

I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my hands---

Then he called to the Biſhop for his Cap, and having put it on *asked the* Executioner,

Does my Hair trouble you?

Who deſired him to put it all under his Cap; which as he was doing, by the help of the *Biſhop* and the *Executioner*, he turned to the *Biſhop*, and ſaid,

I have a good Cauſe, and a gracious God on my ſide.

The Biſhop *ſaid,*

There is but one Stage more; which, though turbulent and troubleſome, yet it is a very ſhort one; you may conſider it will ſoon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you ſhall find, to your great Joy, the Prize you haſten to, a Crown of Glory.

These words were ſpoken upon occaſion of private Diſcourſe between His Majeſty & the Biſhop concerning the ſeveral Stages of mans Life, and his Courſe through them, in alluſion to Poſts and Stages in a Race.

The King *adjoyns.*

I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world.

Biſhop. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown. A good Exchange!

Then the King *asked the* Executioner,

Is my Hair well?

And taking off his *Cloak* and *George*, he delivered his *George* to the *Biſhop*, ſaying,

Remember.

Then putting off his Doublet, and being in his Waſt-coat, he put on his Cloak again, and looking upon the Block, ſaid to the *Executioner*,

You muſt ſet it faſt.

Executioner. It is faſt, *Sir.*

King. It might have been a little higher.

Executioner. It can be no higher, *Sir.*

King. When I put out my hands this way, then----

Then having ſaid a few Words to himſelf, as he ſtood, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately ſtooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block, and the *Executioner* again putting his Hair under his Cap, his Majeſty thinking he had been going to ſtrike bad him

Stay for the Sign.

Executioner. Yes I will and it pleaſe your Majeſty.

After a very ſhort pauſe, his Majeſty ſtretching forth his Hands, the *Executioner* ſevered his head from his Body: Which being held up and ſhewed to the People, was with his Body put into a Coffin covered with Velvet, and carried into his Lodging.

His Blood was taken up by divers Perſons for different ends: By ſome as trophies of their Villany, by others as Reliques of a Martyr; and in ſome hath had the ſame effect by the Bleſſing of God, which was often found in his Sacred Touch when living.

The Malice of his Enemies ended not with his Life: For when his Body was carried to St. *James*'s to be opened, they directed their Empiricks to ſearch for ſuch Symptoms as might diſgrace his Perſon or his Poſterity; but herein they were prevented by an honeſt Intruder, who gave a true account of his Sound and Excellent Temparament.

Being

Being imbalmed and laid in a Coffin of Lead, to be ſeen for ſome dayes by the People, at length upon *Wedneſday* the ſeventeenth of *February*, it was delivered to four of His ſervants, *Herbert*, *Mildmay*, *Preſton* and *Joyner*, who with ſome others in mourning Equipage attended the Herſe that night to *Windſor*, and placed it in the Room which was formerly the Kings Bed-Chamber.

Next day it was removed into the Deans Hall, which was hung with black and made dark, and Lights were ſet burning round the Herſe. About three Afternoon the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, and the Biſhop of *London*, (others that were ſent, to refuſing that laſt ſervice to the beſt of Princes) came thither with two Votes paſſed that morning, whereby the ordering of the Kings Burial was committed to the Duke, provided that the Expences thereof exceeded not Five Hundred Pound. This Order they ſhewed to Colonel *Whichcot* the Governour of the Caſtle deſiring the interment might be in St. *George*'s Chappel, and according to the Form of the *Common-Prayer*: The latter Requeſt the Governour denied, ſaying that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the uſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act.

The Lords replied.

That there was a difference betwixt deſtroying their own Act, and diſpenſing with it, and that no power ſo binds its own hands, as to diſable it ſelf in ſome caſes. But all prevailed not.

The Governour had cauſed an ordinary Grave to be digged in the Body of the Church of *Windſor* for the interment of the Corps; which the Lords diſdaining found means by the direction of an Honeſt Man, one of the old Knights, to uſe an Artifice to diſcover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, by the hollow ſound they might perceive in knocking with a ſtaff upon that place; that ſo it might

might ſeem to be their own accidental finding out, and no perſon receive blame for the diſcovery. This place they cauſed to be opened, and entring ſaw one large Coffin of Lead in the middle of the Vault covered with a Velvet Pall, and a leſſer on one ſide (ſuppoſed to be *Henry* the eighth, and his beloved Queen *Jane Saint-Maure*) on the other ſide was room left for another (probably intended for Queen *Katherine Parre*, who ſurvived him) where they thought fit to lay the King.

Hither the Herſe was born by the Officers of the Garriſon, the four Lords bearing up the Corners of the Velvet Pall, and the Biſhop of *London* following. And in this manner was this great King, upon *Fryday* the ninth of *February*, about three, afternoon, Silently and without other Solemnity then of ſighs and tears, committed to the Earth, the Velvet Pall being thrown into the vault over the Coffin, to which was faſtned an Inſcription in Lead of theſe Words,

King Charles, 1648.

Painted

Painted Chamber.

The Commiſſioners of the High Court of Juſtice met, *Jan.* 30. 1648. *poſt Merid.*

Col. *Hewſon.*
Col. *Okey.*
Mr. *Carey.*
Col. *Deane.*
Mr. *Allen.*
Mr. *Scott.*
Col. *Titchbourne.*
Mr. *Holland.*
Col. *Wauton.*
Col. *Ja. Temple.*
Col. *Ludlow.*
Mr. *Meyne.*
Col. *Rowe.*

They or any five of them ſhall have power, and are hereby appointed a Committee to iſſue forth their Warrants under five of their Hands, to Captain *John Blackwell*, for Diſburſing and Payment of ſuch Sums of Money as they ſhall think fit for the Service of this Court, upon ſuch Bills as they ſhall allow, and to take a particular Account of the Moneys already diſburſed and to be diſburſed for the Service of this Court, and to make Report thereof to this Court, and are to meet in *Queens Court* on *Thurſday* at Nine in the Morning; and the Care hereof is particularly referred to Col. *Titchbourne.*

They thereupon Adjourned till the Morrow.

Painted Chamber, Febr. 1. 1648.

The Commiſſioners being met, Lieut. Col. *Goffe*, Col. *Ewers*, Col. *Pride*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, together with the reſt of the Committee of Accounts, or any three or two of them are appointed and deſired to take the Examination of *William Evans*, Gent. and of all others that ſhall be apprehended for any Words or Actions ſpoken or done againſt this Court, and to peruſe all ſuch Papers, Letters or Writings that ſhall be found with or about the ſaid Perſons, and to make Report thereof to the Court: And the Com-

mittee above mentioned are added to the Committee of Account.

And thereupon Adjourn till the Morrow.

Painted Chamber, Feb. 2. 1648.

The Commiſſioners being met,

Ordered, That Capt. *Blackwell* ſhall iſſue forth ſuch Moneys as ſhall be requiſite for ſatisfaction of all contingent Charges not yet ſatisfied in relation to the Trying, Judging and Execution of *CHARLES STUART* late King of *England*, according to ſuch Warrant as he ſhall receive from the Committee appointed to take the Accounts of the Monies Disburſed for the Service of this Court; and the ſaid Gentlemen are deſired to meet at *White-Hall* to morrow Morning, and to take an exact Account from the ſaid Captain *Blackwell*, of the Monies by him disburſed.

John Hall was brought before this Court upon Information, That he ſhould be engaged in a Deſign againſt this Court; who being Examined concerning the ſame, and *Thomas Maurice*, *William Hitch* and *Tho. Baxter* Witneſſes produced againſt him, being Sworn and Examined, the ſaid *John Hall* was committed to the Cuſtody of the Marſhal General of the Army.

One Mr. *Nelſon* and Mr. *Evans* were likewiſe brought before the Court upon an Information Exhibited againſt them, of a Practice and Deſign, that they were Engaged in againſt this Court; and *John Minſhaw*, *Mary Minſhaw*, *John White*, and *John Haydon* Clerk, were Sworn, and gave Evidence againſt them.

Ordered, *That the ſaid* Evans *and* Nelſon *be committed to the Cuſtody of the* Marſhal General *of the Army, and Col.* Moore *is deſired to acquaint the Houſe herewith.*

The *Lord Preſident* moved the Court, That in regard the Courts Commiſſion is now determining, care may be

be likewiſe taken for a ſufficient Remuneration for the Guards that have ſo freely and chearfully attended the *Lord Preſident* and the Court.

Col. *Titchbourne* Reports from the Committee appointed for that purpoſe, That the ſaid Committee have conſidered of a Gratuity to be given unto the reſpective Officers and Attendants of this Court; of which Allowances this Court doth approve, and deſire Col. *Harriſon* to move the Houſe for Moneys to ſatisfie the ſame, and all other Charges of this Court.

Mr. *Garland*	Commiſſary Gen. *Ireton*
Mr. *Liſle*	Mr. *Marten*
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*	Mr. *Scott*
Mr. *Say*	

The aforeſaid Members of this Court, or any three of them are Ordered on the behalf of this Court to peruſe and conſider the Subſtance of the Proceedings of this Court, and prepare the ſame to be preſented to the *Houſe of Commons*; and Mr. *Say* is Ordered to preſent it.

By the Expiration of the Month in the Act mentioned, the Commiſſion determined.

Atteſted *per John Phelpes*, Clerk to the ſaid Court.

Examined, and Atteſted to be a True Copy from the Original, By me

John Nalſon.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.

THus fell the moſt Glorious *Monarch*, and moſt Admirable *Monarchy* of the whole Univerſe. By theſe Hands were the Manacles of Slavery, and the Yoke of the moſt Arbitrary Servitude put upon the Neck and Hands of the *Engliſh* Nation; and the ſame Blow which ſevered that Royal Head and Body, cut the very Nerves and Ligaments of the *Engliſh* Liberty; and even thoſe men who begun that deteſtable Rebellion, upon the moſt Solemn Pretences of freeing the Nation from the imminent Dangers of *Popery* and Arbitrary Power, erected the moſt unbounded Tyranny, and gave the greateſt Advantages to *Popery*, and the moſt mortal Wound to the Reformed *Catholick* Religion, that ever it received ſince *Rome* firſt left us, becauſe we left her unwarrantable, unſound and unprimitive Practices and Doctrines, ſome of which have ſuch a Treaſonable Conformity with thoſe of our bloody Regicides, as if there were nothing elſe were ſufficient to excuſe the Church of *Englands* Departure from *Rome*, from the imputation of *Schiſm.* Theſe were the men, who to amuſe the People, and animate them to Rebellion, made ſuch horrid Exclamations againſt *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, and yet themſelves Acted what the very worſt men of thoſe Orders had ever written; who reduced thoſe Fatal Doctrines of the *Lawfulneſs* of *Reſiſting*, even by Armed Force; of *Depoſing* and *Murdering* Crowned Heads; from the dull Theory whereof they ſo clamorouſly accuſed the *Papiſts* into the execrable *Act* and *Practice*; theſe were the glorious Founders, Promoters and Encouragers of the *Separation*, who ſcorning the little Villanies of a *Clement*, or a *Ravailac*, or the more ſecret Methods of murdering Princes, made the very Sun bluſh to behold their Triumphant and Daring Wickedneſs; being reſolved to eternize themſelves for the moſt *Renowned Villains*, by ſurpaſſing all that ever went before them; and to outdo even

even *Caſſius* and ingrateful *Brutus* with the ſneaking three and twenty Daggers of the *Roman* Senators, who to recover their *Commonwealth-Liberty*, murdered *Cæſar*, by ſolemnly murdering a moſt Lawful Sovereign; whereas the others, wretchedly enough, took away only the Life of a bold *Uſurper*.

Theſe are the Principles which lead men inſenſibly from Conſcientious Diſobedience, to a Rebellious Conſcience; and by the falſe Pretences of *Religious Zeal*, to commit ſuch *Impieties* as modeſt *Heathens*, nay even ſome *Atheiſts* would bluſh at, and be aſhamed to be guilty of.

Nor is it for one tranſient Act that we accuſe them, but it is the eternal inſeparable Miſchiefs and Conſequences of theſe Principles of Separation which we are for ever to dread; for aſſoon ſhall the Ocean quit its treacherous inſtability, and forget to Rage and Foam, and overthrow all its Banks upon the Summons of every impetuous Tempeſt, as theſe Turbulent Principles ceaſe to be dangerous to the Peace and Repoſe of Mankind, or the ſafety of Government. Aſſoon, nay ſooner ſhall we ſee Lyons and Tygers, Wolves and Panthers become as tame, harmleſs and ſerviceable as our domeſtick Animals, as ſee their ſavage Principles permit thoſe who come to be bewitched with them, continue to be *Innocent* longer then they are *Impotent*: For *Rebellion* with its portentous Retinue, is as naturally included in *Separation* as Fire in a Flint, and though it may ſleep there ſo as to deceive the Ignorant, who never beleive there is fire but when their fingers are burnt, it will alwayes be ready upon the Summons of Steel to ſhew it ſelf; and the Tinder Conſcience of Diſſenters is as obedient as Gunpowder, to catch every Spark of Rebellion that falls into it, and improve it into a Combuſtion and Conflagration both of Church and State.

Now though Sovereign Princes have the greateſt Stake in this World, their Crowns and Scepters, their

Dignity, Lives and Honour, all which are manifeſtly in hazzard, where theſe Principles prevail; and therefore it would be a fooliſh preſumption to think they do not know their own Intereſt, and moſt inſufferable Arrogance and Vanity to pretend to inform and inſtruct them; yet ſince they can never ſuffer alone, and that Private perſons of all Ranks, Degrees and Qualities, have Life, Liberty and Eſtates, which if their Poſſeſſors be Loyal, cannot avoid running the ſame courſe with the fortune of their Prince: Nay even thoſe who propoſe to themſelves the greateſt advantages in Rebellion, ſhould it prove ſucceſsful, in the Concluſion are like to be the greateſt Loſers, the gains which they ſhall make by ſuch Godlineſs, being the loſs of their Souls and Bodies, Heaven and Eternal Happineſs: Certainly it is the True intereſt of all *Engliſh-Men*, even for their own ſecurity and preſervation, to endeavour to ſuppreſs the further growth and progreſs of their pernicious Principles of *Separation*.

Nor is it leſs the intereſt of the Diſſenters themſelves, to abandon thoſe Diſloyal and Ruinous Doctrines, Practices and Opinions, which are ſo deſtructive of the Peace, Happineſs and Proſperity of this *Nation*; and by a timely repentance to attone Heaven for the former Guilt, and moſt eſpecially that of the Blood of this *Royal Martyr*, which as it evidently lies at their Door, ſo it cryes aloud in the Ears of the Almighty Avenger of Blood for Vengance; and let them be aſſured, that though hand joyn in hand, it ſhall not go unpuniſhed, if they continue obſtinately impenitent. Nay their Confederacies and Common Union againſt the King and the Church, will be their ruine, and their *Aſſociating* themſelves in the Cloſeſt Conſpiracies, will be but the *Prologue* to their puniſhment, and then that they may be broken in pieces: and truly if they were not infatuated to deſtruction, they could not but ſee the Miraculouſly Viſible effects of Providence in the wonderous repeated Preſer-

ſervation of his Majeſtyes Sacred Perſon, this Church and Monarchy from ſo many attempts, and Traiterous Enterprizes of all their implacable Enemies: And if they do ſee all this, and will notwithſtanding Run upon their own deſtruction, and the very mouth of Hell charged with Damnation, ſuch deſperate Rage, as it renders them more formidable, ſo ought it to render all honeſt Loyal Perſons more vigilant and cautious againſt them; and to inſpire them with the ſame, but more Noble *Zeal* to ſave their Country from Ruine, with which their Enemies are animated to ſeek its Deſtruction; and though *Charity* for them, commands us to pity them, yet that true *Charity* which begins at home, does at the ſame time oblige us to preſerve our ſelves, as we would do from *Wolves* and *Tygers*, and other Furious Beaſts of Prey, who are ready to devour us.

I know this naked Expoſure of theſe Men and Principles, will expoſe me to the Rage, and entitle me to the Revenge of the Party; but if I have abuſed them, if I have miſrepreſented them, if I have traduced them, or if they are able to convince me of Fiction or Falſhood, let them do it; I beg no Quarter, no Mercy from them; but if what I have written be Truth, *Magna eſt Veritas, & prævalebit*, I cannot fear the Rage neither of Men nor Devils; but muſt let them know aſſuredly that it will to their eternal Horror, Shame and Confuſion, ſtand the Teſt and abide the Tryal of the God of Truth, to whoſe infallible Tribunal and definitive Sentence I ſubmit my ſelf; and let but the moſt angry of the Faction ſoberly, in retired thoughts, ſtate themſelves, their Principles and Actions, as they muſt one day, as if they were before the Almighty Judge, and I perſwade my ſelf, they would find occaſion to return me Thanks for my ſevere Truths, rather than to any of their Deluders for their dangerous Flattery.

Be

Be it as it will; *liberavi Animam*; I waſh my Hands of all the Miſeries and Miſchiefs which for want of *Precaution*, may happen either to, or from thoſe of the *Separation*, by reaſon of theſe horrible Poſitions, Principles and Practices.

THE END.

AN

Alphabetical Catalogue

OF THE

MEMBERS

Of the Execrable Pretended

High Court of Justice:

SHEWING

Which of them Acted, the times When, and Where, they Sate. By the Letters *P C*, are their Meetings in the *Painted Chamber*. *P C, W H*, such as met in the *Painted Chamber* and Adjourned to *Westminster*-Hall. *S W*, such as Signed the Warrant for the King's Murther. *W H S*, such as was sitting in *Westminster*-Hall when Sentence was given.

A.	Jan. 8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Allison Sir *Will.*										PC	PC				PC	PC
Atkins Thomas						PC			WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	
Armyn Sir *Will.*																PC
Allen Francis															PC	
Anlaby John	PC				PC				WH	WH	WH	PC	PC		WHS	SW
Alured John										PC	PC				PC	
Andrews Tho. Ald.										WH	WH				WHS	
B.	Jan. 8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Bourchier Sr *Joh.*	PC		PC			PC		PC	PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Barrington Sir *Joh.*									WH	WH	WH	PC	PC		WHS	SW
Brereton Sir *Will.*																
Bosvile Godfrey																
Barkstead John	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC					PC	PC
Blakeston John	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
									WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW

	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Berners Josias																
Bond Dennis									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Bradshaw Joh. Pres.			PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
Burrel Abraham																
Bainton Sr Edw.																
Blunt Thomas																
Boon Thomas 20.									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Blagrave Daniel	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC			WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
Brown John	PC		PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC WH				PC	PC	PC	

C.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Cromwel Oliver	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Constable Sr William				PC	PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Carew John	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Corbet Miles	PC				PC						PC WH			PC	PC WHS	SW
Challoner Thomas	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC			PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC		PC	SW
Challoner James	PC	PC			PC	PC			WH	PC WH						
Clement Gregory	PC								WH	PC WH	PC WH				PC WHS	SW
Cawley William						PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Corbet John		PC														

D.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Danvers Sr Joh.	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	SW
Deane Richard	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Disborough John																
Duckenfield Robert																
Darley Richard																
Dove John			PC	PC				PC	PC	PC	PC			PC	PC	
Downes John	PC		PC	PC	PC				WH	WH	WH		PC	PC	WHS	SW
Dixwell John		PC		PC				PC	WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW

E.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Ewer Isaac 40.	PC			PC	PC	PC		PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Edwards Humph.	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW

Fairfax

F.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Airfax Tho. Lo.	PC															
Fag John			PC	PC	PC											
Frye John	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC			
Fowke John																
Fenwick George																
Fleetwood George							PC							PC	PC WHS	S W
G.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Ray Tho. Lord of *Groby*	PC				PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Goffe William	PC			PC	PC	PC		PC	WH	PC WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Gourdon John																
Gratwick Roger																
Garland Auguſtine	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC			PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
H.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Harriſon Tho.	PC	PC	PC				PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Honywood Sr *Tho.*																
Harrington Sr *Jam.*											PC WH					
Heveningham Will.	PC			PC		PC		PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	
Hutchinſon John	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Heſilrigg Sr *Arth.*																
Hewſon John	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Holland Cornel. 60	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	
Harvey Edmond	PC					PC			PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC		PC WHS	
Horton Thomas					PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Hammond Thomas			PC		PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH			PC	PC WHS	
Hill Roger																
I.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Iron Henry	PC	PC		PC	PC			PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH			PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Ingoldesby Richard																PC S W
Jones John	PC		PC		PC	PC		PC	PC WH	PC	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W

Liſle

L.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Isle Philip Lo.																
Ludlow Edmund	PC	PC			PC	PC			PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Lambert John																
Livesey Sr *Michael*								PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Lilburne Robert					PC	PC		PC	WH PC	WH	PC WH		PC		PC WHS	SW
Lister Thomas		PC				PC			WH PC							
Lassells Francis	PC	PC		PC		PC	PC	PC	WH	PC WH	PC PC		PC		PC	PC
Lisle John	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC	WH PC	WH PC	WH PC			PC	WHS PC	PC
Love Nicholas	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	WH			PC	WHS	
Lenthal John																
Lowry John																
M.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Mildmay Henry									PC	PC						
Munson Wil. Lo.80	PC				PC	PC		PC	WH PC	WH PC	WH PC			PC	PC	
Maleverer Sr *Tho.* Bt	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH PC	WH	WH PC	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
Mildmay Sr *Henry*	PC	PC			PC				PC		WH		PC	PC		
Masham Sr *William*									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Marten Henry	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC			WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Morley Herbert			PC		PC		PC		PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Millington Gilbert	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC			PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Manwaring Robert										PC	PC				PC	
Moore John	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC		WH PC	WH	WH PC	PC	PC	PC	WHS PC	S W PC
Meyne Symon						PC	PC	PC	WH		WH	PC		PC	WHS	S W
N.	Jan.8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Nutt John																
Nelthorpe James									PC	PC	PC				PC	
Norton Sr *Gregory*		PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH		WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
Nicholas Robert																
O.	Jan.8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Key John	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Overton Robert																

Pride

P.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Pride Thomas	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Pennington Isaac Al.									PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC			WHS PC	PC
Purefoy William	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS PC	S W PC
Pelham Peregrine	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS PC	S W PC
Potter Vincent 100.		PC			PC	PC		PC	WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Pickering Sr *Gilb.* Bt										WH	PC WH					
R.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Rowe Owen		PC	PC			PC		PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Roberts Sr *William*																
Rigby Alexander																
Reynolds Robert																
S.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Skipon Philip																
Salway Richard																
Salway Humphrey																
Scroop Adrian	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Sydney Algernon				PC	PC			PC								
Say William		PC	PC	PC		PC		PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH				PC WHS	PC S W
Smith Henry	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Scott Thomas		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Stapeley Anthony									PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	S W
Skinner Auguſtine																
T.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Trenchard John																
Tomlinſon Matthew										WH					PC WHS	
Titchbourn Robert	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Thorp Francis									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Temple James 120	PC		PC		PC				WH	WH PC	WH PC			PC	WHS PC	S W PC
Temple Peter	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Temple Sr *Peter*																

V.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24	25.	26.	29.	29.
Venn John	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
W.	Jan.8.	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	29.	29.
Aller Sir *Hardieſs*	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Wauton Valentine	PC	PC		PC	PC				PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Whalley Edward	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC S W
Wroth Sr *Thomas*					PC											
Wallop Robert					PC					PC WH	WH					
Wilſon Rowland																
Wentworth Sr *Peter*																
Weſton Benjamin																
Wild Edmond						PC			PC				PC		PC	
Wogan Thomas							PC			WH	WH			PC	WHS	S W
Weaver John															PC	
Wayte Thomas 135													PC	PC	WHS	SW

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